## THE MILITANT

OCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

INSIDE
Socialists discuss resistance
by garment, textile workers

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VOL. 64/NO.43 NOVEMBER 13, 2000

# Workers in Yugoslavia press for their rights

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS AND BOBBIS MISAILIDIS

NIS, Yugoslavia—On a visit to the Tobacco Industry of Nis (DIN) complex here October 27, the mood among workers was noticeably different from what these reporters had witnessed on a previous visit in April 1999.

At that time, Yugoslavia was being sub-

#### EYEWITNESS REPORT

jected to a brutal U.S.-NATO bombing campaign, which in large part targeted industrial centers. DIN, the country's largest cigarette manufacturing facility, was one of the plants that was bombed, and workers there, outraged by the bombing and left jobless, were understandably tense and nervous about their future. In addition, they were subjected to the bureaucratic regime headed by Slobodan Milosevic.

On the most recent visit to the plant, hundreds of people were streaming in and out of the main gate during the afternoon shift change. Among the couple of dozen work-

**Continued on Page 8** 

## Tel Aviv intensifies assault on Palestinians

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

In a show of force, the Israeli military attacked offices of the Fatah organization of Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat October 30, firing missiles from Apache and Cobra helicopters. The demonstration of firepower was intended to bring to bear increasing pressure on the leadership of the Palestinian National Authority, whose president is Arafat, to crack down on the rebellious Palestinian population.

The Israeli government claimed it launched the attacks—targeting Fatah offices in the West Bank cities of Ramallah and Nablus and in the Gaza Strip—in retaliation for the deaths of two Israelis earlier that day.

The same day, Israeli deputy defense minister Ephraim Sneh said the army would deploy units specially trained in guerrilla warfare, alleging this was necessary to counter possible bomb attacks on Israeli targets by Palestinian organizations.

As the conflict between Israeli and Palestinian forces sharpened, Prime Minister Ehud Barak maneuvered for alliances with two right-wing parties—the Shas party and Ariel Sharon's Likud party—to keep his minority Labor Party government afloat.

Tel Aviv has escalated its attacks on the Palestinians in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which is under siege. "Israeli occupation forces have

**Continued on Page 11** 



Workers at Yugoslavia's largest bank demonstrate in Belgrade October 13, demanding a say in choice of new directors to replace appointees of toppled Milosevic regime.

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# 'Secrecy' act: more cover for gov't spying

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

A bill making it a felony to disclose information about U.S. government "secrets" to "unauthorized" persons has been approved by the House and Senate, with little debate and no open hearings, and sent to President William Clinton for his approval.

The measure, which is part of a spending bill to finance the U.S. spy agencies, calls for criminal penalties for anyone who "knowingly and willfully discloses or attempts to disclose any classified information." Government employees convicted of disclosing such information would face a three-year prison sentence.

This so-called antileak measure was requested by the Central Intelligence Agency and drafted with assistance from the U.S. Justice Department, which supervises the FBI. It was inserted into the Intelligence Authorization Act by the Senate Intelligence Committee after closed hearings. The House Intelligence Committee also approved the provision. A plethora of political police agencies operate under the "national security classification system" that would be covered by the legislation, including the CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, FBI, and Drug Enforcement Agency.

The proposal has evoked strong objec-Continued on Page 15

# Coal bosses' greed threatens environment

BY MICHAEL FITZSIMMONS AND TONY LANE

INEZ, Kentucky—The Tug Fork and Big Sandy rivers continue to flow a dark shade of gray, almost two weeks after the Martin County Coal Corp. (MCC) coal waste impoundment here failed October 11, sending an estimated 250 million gallons of thick sludge down Wolf Creek and Coldwater Fork.

Attention is now focused on the cleanup, the cost of which is estimated to top \$50 million. William Chapman, a local resident and former Wolf Creek miner, said in an interview that the community "has to band together in unison to make sure the cleanup is complete." He held Martin County Coal responsible for the disaster.

The rivers form the border between West Virginia and Kentucky in this coal-mining region, where workers face the relentless efforts by coal bosses to thwart union organizing drives and sacrifice safety and public health to profits. Of these coal bosses, Martin County Coal's owners—A.T. Massey Coal Co.—is particularly hated. As one West Virginia miner told the *Militant* when discussing the bosses' thirst for profits, "Yes, but Massey is the worst." Approximately 300 miners work at the MCC complex.

Until the sludge arrived in the creeks, on **Continued on Page 3** 

## 'Coal bosses must pay for sludge cleanup'

The following is a statement issued by Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate in Missouri. Kennedy is a garment worker and member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees in St. Louis.

The environmental catastrophe caused by a spill of 250 million gallons of coal waste sludge, which has fouled rivers and streams on the Kentucky-West Virginia border and affected thousands of working people in the area, is the result of one thing: the coal bosses' relentless profit drive.

The mine slurry pond that broke October 11 is owned by Martin County Coal Corp., a subsidiary of A.T. Massey. The company has previously been cited for violations for a number of similar occurrences.

The billionaire coal bosses should be held liable and foot the entire bill for cleaning up the mess and doing whatever it takes to end the danger posed by the slurry ponds to coal miners, mining towns, and farmers and workers downstream.

More than 650 sludge ponds exist near coal mines around the country. They collect millions of tons of coal dust, clay, and poisonous heavy metals from cleaning the raw coal. In Kentucky more than 60 of these, like the one at the Martin County Coal mine, are built over underground coal mine structures.

These impoundments are a time bomb waiting to explode. Immediate action is needed to enforce whatever safety measures are necessary to protect the miners who work under or near such ponds, workers and farmers who live nearby, and the environment.

The initiative on protecting health and safety will not come from the profit-hungry coal barons or the Democratic and Republican politicians who do their bidding. Coal miners and their union—the United Mine Workers of America—have to take the lead. Farmers and other workers can be won as allies in this fight.

The bosses and their supporters try to convince working people that it's not possible to protect both the environment and the jobs of coal miners. It's a trade-off, they claim your job or your health and well-being.

But this is true only from the warped standpoint of the bosses' interests. For them, anything that cuts into their profits—workers' safety, a decent wage, medical coverage and other social benefits, a union—is deemed "too expensive."

Working people must approach the matter from a completely different standpoint the needs of our class. To the extent that working people have won some protection, it has been through fighting tooth and nail against the employers and the government.

A related debate is raging over "mountaintop removal mining." To extract narrow seams of coal, mine bosses in West Virginia and Kentucky are increasingly lopping off whole mountaintops without regard to environmental or social consequences because it's cheaper than traditional methods. They use ever-larger machines and explosive charges, and employ fewer and fewer miners.

The solution to the environmental hazards of "mountaintop removal mining" and coal sludge disasters is not to shut down coal mining, as some middle-class reformers propose. It's to mobilize union power to enforce safety and health protections.

Likewise, the labor movement must lead the fight for jobs. Launching a public works project to fortify or move containment ponds could provide jobs for thousands of unemployed workers at union scale. A crash program is also needed to find a safe means for



disposing of wastes. Such a program should be fully funded by the coal barons, under union control with full federal backing.

There is a huge potential for creating jobs in the coalfields. Massive coal reserves exist in the Eastern as well as the Illinois basin coal fields. This resource is underutilized because of the profit-driven priorities of the energy monopolies. They have sought to dissipate the power of the United Mine Workers of America union, which is an obstacle to their drive to intensify labor, gut health and safety measures, cut wages, and break down solidarity.

The energy giants don't want to pay for "scrubbers" on electrical generation plants to burn coal more cleanly. A revival of coal production—done by UMWA members under safe conditions and converted to electrical power through environmentally sound methods—would provide both jobs and low-cost energy needed by millions.

## INS uses secret 'evidence' to hold Palestinian

**BY LYNN HILL** 

TAMPA, Florida-Mazen Al-Najjar, a resident of this city, has been detained by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) since May 1997. He has not been charged with any crime, and is being held solely on the basis of secret "evidence" that has not been made available either to him or to his lawyers. Despite a judge's ruling that he poses no threat, Al-Najjar has not been released from prison.

Al-Najjar is appealing the attempt by U.S. authorities to deport him for overstaying a student visa. In a hearing in June 1997, he was denied bail by an immigration judge on the basis of so-called secret evidence

that was not made available even in summary form to Al-Najjar or his lawyers, except to assert that he is "associated with the Palestinian Islamic Jihad." A U.S. district court later ruled that this violated Al-Najjar's rights, and a new bail hearing was ordered. This hearing was completed in October.

Al-Najjar, a 43-year-old Palestinian, came to the United States from the Gaza Strip almost 20 years ago, where he finished his doctorate and stayed to teach at the University of South Florida (USF) in Tampa. During this time, he co-founded the World and Islam Studies Enterprise (WISE), devoted to Middle Eastern affairs at the university.

Government lawyers used the visa case to target Al-Najjar, claiming WISE, since closed by USF, was a front for terrorism.

At the October hearing, government lawyers said their case for denying Al-Najjar bail was based on searches of WISE offices over a five-year period. INS witnesses, however, conceded they could not point to a single act of violence attributed to him, nor could any funds associated with him be traced to groups labeled by the federal government as "terrorist."

INS district counsel Daniel Vara stated that Al-Najjar's activities in the United States included teaching at the university, helping to found a mosque, publishing academic journals, and expanding a school, which he conceded were "the regular things people do in this country." But in Al-Najjar's case, he argued, they were only an effort to create "a veil of legitimacy" for sinister doings.

The St. Petersburg Times reports that around two dozen people have been jailed on the basis of secret evidence. The overwhelming majority of these cases have involved Muslim and Arab immigrants. According to the National Coalition to Protect Political Freedom, six of them remain

Government lawyers questioned Al-Najjar and his colleagues about who attended WISE conferences and what had been stated at the gatherings.

Government lawyers also called onto the witness stand Sami Al-Arian, Al-Najjar's brother-in-law and also a professor at USF and co-founder of WISE. They asked Al-Arian 102 questions such as, "Isn't it true that you support freedom for Islam through violence?" "Have you ever engaged in fund-raising for the Palestinian Islamic Jihad?" "Isn't it true that...you made the statement, 'Death to Israel'?"

Al-Arian limited his responses to constitutionally required information.

At the end of the hearing, the immigration judge said he will release Al-Najjar if the government failed to file a motion within 14 days that it would introduce more secret "evidence." Federal lawyers have already stated that they will seek to present the judge with further arguments to prevent Al-Najjar's release.

## THE MILITANT

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## Meeting discusses fight for miners' health care

#### BY MARTY RESSLER AND JACOB FOX

BEAVER, West Virginia—The National Black Lung Association held its annual national meeting October 21 in this southern West Virginia town just outside Beckley. Some 50 retired coal miners and others involved in the fight to retain and expand health care for miners attended. They came from West Virginia, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Virginia, and Alabama.

The Black Lung Association (BLA) was founded in 1969 to win benefits for coal miners suffering from black lung disease. Pneumoconiosis, or black lung, is a disabling pulmonary disease caused by breathing coal dust. It is a progressive illness that causes shortness of breath and eventually suffocation. While there is no cure, black lung as an occupational disease can be virtually eliminated through proper air ventilation and water sprays in the mines to reduce dust levels, and the use of respirators.

For many decades, both the coal bosses and the government denied that black lung disease even existed. Through the struggles of miners and their union, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), national black lung benefits were finally won in the 1970s, along with regulations controlling the amount of coal dust in the mines.

Coal operators regularly ignore or circumvent regulations limiting coal dust exposure. They have also driven to push back access to black lung benefits. Only 7.5 percent of miners who apply for benefits actually receive them. Roughly 1,500 workers a year die of black lung. Countless other lives are cut short by this disease and related illnesses, but these cases go unreported if black lung is not listed on the death certificate.

"One big problem is that a lot of miners don't know how to fight to get their benefits," Archie Young, retired after 40 years in the Alabama coal mines and president of the Alabama chapter of the BLA, said in an interview. Young, a still powerful-looking man who played for the Birmingham Black Barons of the Negro Baseball League in his youth, suffers from black lung.

"The Department of Labor sends you to a doctor, but nine times out of 10 you get turned down," Young explained. More often than not, the presence of black lung disease does not register on a normal X-ray.

"Beginning under the Reagan administration, the laws governing black lung benefits were weighted in favor of the coal companies. These companies will fight to deny you benefits to the last [breath]," he continued. Young was awarded black lung benefits, but his former employer is appealing

this ruling.

In his feature presentation to the Black Lung Association meeting, Joe Main, health and safety director of the UMWA, spoke of the fight to defend the Coal Act. The law requires all companies that ever signed a UMWA contract—reaching back 30 years—to pay lifetime health benefits to their retirees. The UMWA maintains the Combined Benefit Fund (CBF), which was established under the Coal Act and provides benefits for about 70,000 retired miners and their families. There have been more than 60 court challenges by the coal companies to the act.

Main spoke of the recent \$94 million emergency funding of the Coal Act passed by Congress. This would not have happened, he maintained, "if it wasn't for the support of people like those in this room." More than half of those in attendance had taken part in the May 17 "Keep the Promise" rally in Washington demanding funding for the Coal Act.

The U.S. Department of Labor is considering new regulations for coal miners seeking black lung disease compensation. "At this point we are going to wait for those who have made us promises to keep them and implement these new regulations. We may well be marching in Washington again," Main said.

The UMWA official noted that recent hearings have discussed the new guidelines for diesel fumes by the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA). A 1998 proposal would require removing an average of at least 95 percent of the mass of the diesel particulate matter emitted from the engine.

Underground miners are exposed to a far higher concentration of this fine particulate than any other group of workers. The best available evidence indicates that such high exposure puts these miners at risk for a variety of ailments, including lung cancer. Main cited the example of the Shoal Creek mine in Alabama, with 150 pieces of diesel equipment operating underground, as a particularly egregious example.

#### Fight to limit coal dust in mines

Main also touched on the fight to limit respirable coal dust in the mines, explaining that the UMWA opposes proposed new MSHA regulations. These rules would take air testing out of the hands of the mine operators, who routinely cheat on air samples. But they would also authorize doubling the allowable limit of respirable coal mine dust during each shift from 1.0 to 2.0 parts per cubic meter.

Lewis Fitch, a retired miner from southern Illinois and president of the National Black Lung Association, projected a campaign to reconstruct BLA chapters in Pennsylvania and other areas of the coalfields. He was reelected at the convention along with the other officers.

Fitch was a preparation plant worker for 26 years, and has been receiving black lung benefits since 1979. Many people, including miners, think exposure to coal dust is a problem only for underground workers, Fitch explained, but those working in prep plants and in surface strip mines are also at risk.

Sandra Fogel, an attorney from Carbondale, Illinois, who specializes in black lung cases, pointed out, "Some 50 out of the total of 400 black lung cases I have handled have been surface miners."

Peggy Coleman, of Cedar Grove, West Virginia, spoke about the importance of continuing the fight for benefits for widows. In an interview she said, "I would say that very few widows have received benefits since 1982. Maybe 4 percent of them. I do not receive benefits, even though my husband who died 15 years ago had black lung. The cause of death was listed as 'lung cancer.' But if black lung hastens a miner's death, benefits should be paid."

Fred Carter, a retired miner who is Black and an early leader of the black lung movement, emphasized, "I said 30 years ago that there is a holocaust going on against miners. We need to call for a criminal investigation, and we need to put these operators in jail. They are poisoning miners, and also the air and ground water."

Den Hunter, a former miner from Floyd County, Kentucky, said he had received black lung benefits after a favorable Labor Department ruling. Three years later he lost benefits after an appeal by the mine bosses. He is fighting for reinstatement of benefits with the help of the Appalachian Research and Defense Fund of Kentucky. He believes if new proposed regulations are adopted he will be able to regain his benefits.

Marty Ressler is a sewing machine operator in St. Louis. Jacob Fox is a surface coal miner in Alabama. J. Rose contributed to this article.

## Coal bosses' greed threatens environment

#### Continued from front page

their land, and around their homes, local residents didn't know the extent of the 72-acre containment pond Massey had built above their community. Authorities estimate that 10 percent of the pond's contents were spilled when a roof fall in old mine workings underneath the pond caused a failure.

In previous years, Martin County Coal had pumped slurry (coal waste) into these old workings beneath the pond as they were mined out. Martin County Coal was fined \$1,600 in 1994 when inspectors found a smaller leak in the coal waste impoundment and has received nine violations for similar occurrences in past years.

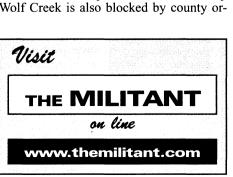
The waste, which is the product of the coal washing process, contains coal dust, clay, heavy metals such as arsenic, mercury, lead, copper, and chromium, as well as chemicals added to help the coal settle out of the mixture. While Kentucky officials claim there are no unusual levels of toxic metals in the water, Inez area residents are pressing the government to do further tests.

"You say it's just sludge—what about the deadly poisons they use to wash the coal?" asked Angie Bowen at a public meeting organized by county and coal company officials. Robbie Gilliam, a high school teacher here, was not satisfied that the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) would review the results of the Kentucky EPA tests of the water without conducting its own tests.

Another participant in the meeting complained that the company didn't alert residents in the area of the spill soon enough. MCC president Dennis Hatfield replied that he didn't believe anyone was in danger. The company didn't notify the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) of the spill until nearly four hours after it was discovered. Some local residents found out about it when they tried to leave their homes to go to work.

On the edge of Coldwater Creek, Carl Scott rented land and raised potatoes for his family, and corn to feed his hog, goat, ducks, and chickens. "Last week they told me I had 10 minutes to remove my crops from the land before the heavy equipment arrived. They didn't even wait until I was out of the field before burying the crops.

Just past Scott's house, the county authorities have set up a roadblock. Access up Wolf Creek is also blocked by county or-





Local resident points to sludge from Kentucky pollution disaster that occurred when roof collapsed in structure underneath sludge pond, releasing 250 million gallons of waste into nearby rivers. In drive for profits, coal bosses sacrifice health and safety.

der. The company kept news media off the mine, not allowing them on till a media tour 12 days later. Residents reported that Martin County Coal has never let them on mine land to hunt; hunting this year will be meager because of the sludge.

#### Jobs vs. environment?

Some Wolf Creek residents expressed their concern about how the question of jobs is played off against the protection of the environment. Jackie Jordan, a local resident and retired union glass worker, said, "People think about jobs all the time but you have to worry about the pollution. The company doesn't worry—they couldn't care less."

MSHA announced October 19 that it was dispatching inspectors to impoundment sites it has identified as "having potential to fail and pose a threat to the lives or property of workers and citizens in the surrounding community." It will present the results of its inspections at future public meetings throughout Appalachia. To this date, however, MSHA has not even set a minimum distance, known as a "barrier range," that an impoundment must be from an underground mine.

A.T. Massey is one of the largest coal companies in the country. Only about 5 percent of its 3,700 employees are represented by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). The UMWA waged an unsuccessful strike against Massey in 1984—

Miners at Martin County Coal had earned \$14 to \$16 an hour, but had their wages cut \$2 an hour just six months ago.

ages cut \$2 an hour just six months ago.

Massey claimed \$147 million in profits

and \$1.1 billion in sales last year. It runs a network of 18 mining subsidiaries, including Martin County Coal. The "Massey Doctrine," developed by the son of the company's founder, holds that the company will operate the richest and easiest-to-mine of its coal reserves. The marginal seams are mined by contractors, who from the mid-1970s to the late 1990s avoided paying \$46 million in workers' compensation payments.

Michael Fitzsimmons is a garment worker in Cleveland and a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees. Tony Lane is a member of UMWA Local 1248 in Pennsylvania.

### 'Mercury News' carriers win pay hike

#### BY BARBARA BOWMAN

SAN JOSE, California—Hundreds of San Jose *Mercury News* carriers, 80 percent of whom are Vietnamese-American, scored an important victory here through a five-day work stoppage. At its height the action included 557 out of 1,080 carriers.

On October 16, they won a 12 percent wage increase, protection from being forced to collect payments from subscribers or paying for missed deliveries, amnesty for those who took part in the strike, and reinstatement of four carriers whose contracts the *Mercury News* had terminated at the start of the walkout.

Many carriers begin their day at 3:00 a.m., delivering papers seven days a week, 365 days a year. They pay all their own ex-

penses—from a vehicle, fuel, and insurance to plastic bags and rubber bands. Before they won the present settlement, carriers could be charged up to \$2 for missing a delivery of a workday paper that retails for 35 cents, or up to \$5 for a \$1 Sunday edition.

Delinquent payments by subscribers were deducted from the carriers' paychecks, even when, as in one case, the subscriber had died without canceling his subscription. The newspaper bosses justifies this policy by claiming that all the newspaper carriers are "independent contractors."

One goal the carriers had hoped to achieve still lies before them. Many hope to join an organized labor union and be less susceptible to future unfair labor demands.

## Balkan wars: product of capitalist breakdown

Printed below is an excerpt from Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium by Jack Barnes. It is taken by a talk given by Barnes, Socialist Workers Party national secretary, to a conference of the Communist League and Young Socialists in London in 1992. The talk was given at the beginning of the Balkan wars that have since unfolded over the past decade. Last year, Washington and other NATO powers carried out a savage bombing campaign against Yugoslavia. Today, some 65,000 imperialist occupation troops, including more than 11,000 U.S soldiers, remain stationed in Bosnia, Macedonia, and Kosova. Copyright © 1999 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

#### BY JACK BARNES

If we look at the unfolding slaughter in Yugoslavia, we will see many elements of the world we are describing. The most difficult things to come to grips with in discussing Yugoslavia are not the theoretical questions; we have adopted reports on those questions and written about them well. The most difficult thing is to acknowledge the reality of a murderous war, the scope and horror of which has not been seen in continental Europe for decades. Even more difficult to accept is the fact this war is not an aberration, but instead a foreshadowing of the direction of world politics today.

Most bourgeois commentators would have us believe that the slaughter in Yugoslavia signifies a new rise of nationalism or as they often prefer saying, a new rise of "tribalism." Outside a few white enclaves in "the West," they imply, world civilization is threatening to break down along

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Upper Manhattan	3,000	2,310	77%
Chicago	7,500	5,801	77%
Seattle	9,000	6,740	75%
Chippewa Falls*	740	543	
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St. Louis*	2,000	1,373	69%
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Tampa	600	400	67%
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NY Garment Dist.*	5,600	3,455	62%
Detroit	3,750	2,285	61%
Brooklyn	3,200	1,920	60% 59%
Houston	6,500	3,820 1,300	57%
Miami	2,300 6,000	3,325	55%
Los Angeles Washington	3,000	1,606	54%
Fort Collins	1,400	719	51%
Cleveland	1,600	722	45%
Twin Cities	3,500	1,140	
Fresno	200	60	30%
	3,200	911	28%
Birmingham			
Des Moines	1,800	285	16%
Other U.S. Total	98,490	1 <i>7</i> 5 66,725	68%
Canada			
Toronto	2,840	1,620	57%
Vancouver	1,005	352	35%
Montreal	1,340		
Canada Total	5,000	2,200	
United Kingdom	870	30	3%
France		320	
Int'l Total	107,780	\$72,360	67%
Goal/Should be \$			
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lines of "age-old ethnic hatreds." The truth is the opposite. The slaughter in Yugoslavia is the product of the breakdown of the capitalist world order; it is the product of intensifying conflicts among rival capitalist classes in the imperialist countries and



Tobacco workers in Nis, Yugoslavia, review May 24, 1999, Militant that featured coverage of NATO bombing of the city. The slaughter and imperialist intervention in Yugoslavia are "the product of intensifying conflicts among rival capitalist classes in the imperialist countries and would-be capitalists in the deformed workers states."

would-be capitalists in the deformed workers states. These conflicts, in which exploiting layers demagogically don national garb to defend their narrow class interests, will increasingly mark world politics.

What is happening in Yugoslavia also bloodily demonstrates the fact that Stalinist leaderships cannot unite toilers from different national origins on a lasting basis to open up a broadening federation of soviet republics working together to build socialism. Several years after the October 1917 revolution in Russia, the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as voluntary federation of workers and peasants republics. The Bolsheviks in Lenin's time were a revolutionary workers vanguard that fought uncompromisingly for the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, for the complete equality of nations and nationalities, and against every vestige of national privilege, arrogance, and chauvinism. They took the lead in placing that internationalist perspective at the heart of the program and practice of the Communist International. As part of the political coun"Soviet man."2

The federated Yugoslav workers state that the imperialists and rival Stalinist gangs are now trying to tear apart was a gigantic accomplishment of the Yugoslav revolution of 1942-46. Workers and peasants who were Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and from other nationalities forged unity to oust the Nazi occupation forces and their local collaborators, carry out a radical land reform, and expropriate the capitalist exploiters. It was truly one of the great revolutions of this century, a proletarian socialist revolution.

terrevolution carried out by the petty-bour-

geois social caste whose spokesman was

Joseph Stalin, however, this proletarian in-

ternationalist course gave way to the re-

turn of Great Russian chauvinism, now

dressed up as the "new Soviet nation" and

The Stalinist leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, headed by Josip Broz (known by his nom de guerre Tito), however, blocked the toilers of different nationalities from building on their conquests and solidly cementing the federation together. The socialist revolution in Yugoslavia was deformed from birth. Nonetheless, substantial layers of toilers in Yugoslavia—whether Bosnian, Serb, or Croat, whether Christian or Muslim in their current beliefs or family origins—have continued even today to demonstrate their will to resist the horrors thrust on them by the rival bureaucratic gangs that emerged from the crumbling Stalinist apparatus.

The consequences of the bloodbath in Yugoslavia also provide further confirmation that refugees are increasingly becoming actors in world politics today. Every time we hear the word "refugee," in any language, we should always translate it in our minds as "fellow worker." It is not enough for class-conscious workers to reject the chauvinist portrayal of refugees as pariahs. Above all, we must resist turning refugees simply into victims, rather than potential soldiers in the battalions of the international working class. We take communist politics to these fellow workers, and we fight alongside them for their rights, their dignity, and the common interests of working people the world over.

The slaughter in Yugoslavia shows every sign of deepening and drawing in other countries. There is already a United Nations intervention force there—so-called "peace-keeping" troops—for the first time ever in Europe. We cannot predict whether the war will expand, or foresee the forms an escalation might take. Nor do we know how long the current imperialist "peacekeeping" will take; we do know the longer it takes, the more likely it is to turn into "peacebreaking." Our job as communist workers is to demand a halt to the imperialist intervention and fight every attempt to deepen it. We need to keep speaking the truth about the stake workers have in this struggle, and to support the toilers throughout the Yugoslav workers state who are trying to defend their social conquests and bring the butchery to an end.

<sup>1</sup> See The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention by George Fyson, Argiris Malapanis, and Jonathan Silberman (New York: Pathfinder, 1993).

<sup>2</sup> The historic communist position on these questions is explained in The Right of Nations to Self-Determination and Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism, both by V.I. Lenin (Moscow: Progress Publishers); and Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!, the proceedings of the Second Congress of the Communist International (Pathfinder, 1991). Lenin's battle against the first efforts to reverse this communist course are traced in Lenin's Final Fight: Speeches and Writings, 1922-23 (Pathfinder, 1995). Leon Trotsky, the most prominent Bolshevik active in the leadership of the October revolution who fought to continue Lenin's course, recounted the social and political factors that made possible the Stalinist counterrevolution, including on the national question, in his classic 1936 work, The Revolution Betrayed: What Is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going? All these titles are avail-

## Fund pledges need boost in final stretch

BY DON MACKLE

The issue you are holding is the most effective tool to raise money for the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial Fund. The firsthand coverage from Yugoslavia featured on the front page is unique. No other newspaper has anything like it. The report comes from an international team of worker-correspondents who went to Yugoslavia to get the facts from a working-class point of view.

They describe the multifaceted events that have been unfolding since a popular revolt in early October brought down the hated bureaucratic regime of Slobodan Milosevic, with working people playing the decisive role.

They explain how workers are seeking to use the political space they have won in order to improve their working and living conditions; why the new government does not represent a break from the basic political course of the previous bureaucratic regime; how the imperialist powers seek to integrate Yugoslavia more into the world market system; the working-class resistance that can be expected as a consequence of such moves; and why 65,000 imperialist occupation troops remain stationed in the Balkans—a threat aimed at Yugoslavia and other workers states in the region.

Perspectiva Mundial is coming out with a 16-page special issue next week that will contain firsthand coverage on the events in Yugoslavia, as well as documents previously unavailable in Spanish on the fight for a democratic, secular Palestine.

With two weeks remaining in the \$110,000 fund campaign, there could not be a better opportunity to systematically approach all readers of the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial who need and look forward to this kind of coverage, and ask them to contribute to keep producing these revolutionary, working-class publications.

The public fund-raising meetings in this final stretch of the campaign are needed to collect the remaining pledges to the fund. But the key to successful meetings is the work that is put in beforehand to lock in contributions—discussing the political questions that will be taken up at the meetings, as well as firming up contributions and asking people to bring their checkbooks.

Leading the way this week are supporters of the socialist periodicals in Iceland, Australia, Sweden, and New Zealand, all of whom have reached or are close to reaching their quotas.

Another boost was given to the drive in the New York Garment District, Philadelphia, and Chippewa Falls, which raised their combined pledges by \$1,240. Altogether six areas have increased their local quotas. More areas need to follow these examples in order to meet the international goal of \$110,000—we are some \$2,000 short in total quotas.

"Payments have been coming in regularly to the Militant from most areas," reported Emily Fitzsimmons, one of the organizers of the fund collection effort. "The next two weeks are crucial, to bring in the remaining \$38,000—a substantial amount that requires focused attention every day between now and November 13.

"Contributors who have already paid their pledges, or are close to it, may be open to boosting their pledges a little in response to special opportunities like the reporting trip to Yugoslavia," Fitzsimmons added.

From Pathfinder

#### The Truth about Yugoslavia

George Fyson, Argiris Malapanis, and Jonathan Silberman



Examines the roots of the carnage in Yugoslavia, where Washington and its imperialist rivals in Europe are intervening militarily with occupation troops, with the ultimate aim of reimposing capitalist relations. \$9.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

## Sell 'Militant' subs to give class explanation of events in world

#### BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Over the coming weeks participants in the campaign to expand the readership of the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial will be energetically stepping up their efforts to explain the developments that have been shaking Yugoslavia and the Mideast today, as well as other crucial political questions for working people.

Now is a good time to take advantage of the hunger among working-class fighters and politically minded youth for answers to these questions. Campaigning with the two socialist periodicals in this way is needed to make a success of the drive to sell 1,000 subscriptions to the Militant, 350 to Perspectiva Mundial, and 2,000 copies of the pamphlet The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning.

The socialist publications feature on-thescene reporting on the events unfolding in Yugoslavia since the toppling of the hated bureaucratic regime of Slobodan Milosevic. They provide not only the facts but an explanation of the class dynamics and contradictions of these developments.

Likewise, the coverage in the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial on the Israeli regime's brutal offensive against the Palestinian people, and the resistance to it, offers a Marxist presentation of these events. They explain why the Israeli state is incompatible with the interests of the Palestinian people and working people inside Israel, Palestinians and Jews alike; the importance of the fight to force the Zionist regime out of the occupied territories; the evolution of the Palestinian leadership; and the conflicting interests of Washington, Tel Aviv, and other imperialist powers.

New subscribers to the Militant have found particularly useful the extensive material that was featured recently on the struggle for a democratic, secular Palestine and imperialism's role in establishing the Israeli colonial-settler state. Referring to this material can be very effective in convincing others to get a subscription.

"Enclosed are four Militant subscriptions from Washington, D.C., sold at the October 28 march and rally to protest Israeli violence against the Palestinian people," wrote Jane Lyons. "We also sold about 45 copies of the Militant and received a number of donations from several people in appreciation of the Militant's support to the Palestinian struggle."

#### 'Election campaign a big help'

The election campaign of Socialist Workers candidates and sales of Pathfinder's newest title, The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning, have been a central element of the circulation drive. "Since Socialist Workers candidate for vice president, Margaret Trowe, toured the Pittsburgh area, socialist coal miners have sold six Militant subs," wrote Frank Forrestal, himself a socialist candidate for U.S. Senate. "We sold five of those subs to our co-workers in the mines. The other sub was sold to a retired miner at a meeting in Man, West Virginia, where residents gathered to oppose the closure of a local hospital there.

Forrestal noted that with the national election campaign in high gear, "the atmosphere at work is politically charged. Union officials are pushing Albert Gore for president and Ronald Klink for Senate. Posters and flyers are up in the bathhouse. In addition, the owner of the mine is pushing for George W. Bush in a big way. Recently he sent all employees a packet of material in the mail and is organizing 'awareness meetings' for the workers.'

Forrestal added, "Our write-in campaign has been a big help. Selling the Militant subs was an extension of talking politics to co-workers—about the big events in Yugoslavia, the resistance in Palestine, the Cuban revolution, developments in the labor movement, discussions on our union, black lung, health and safety, forced overtime, and our election campaign.'

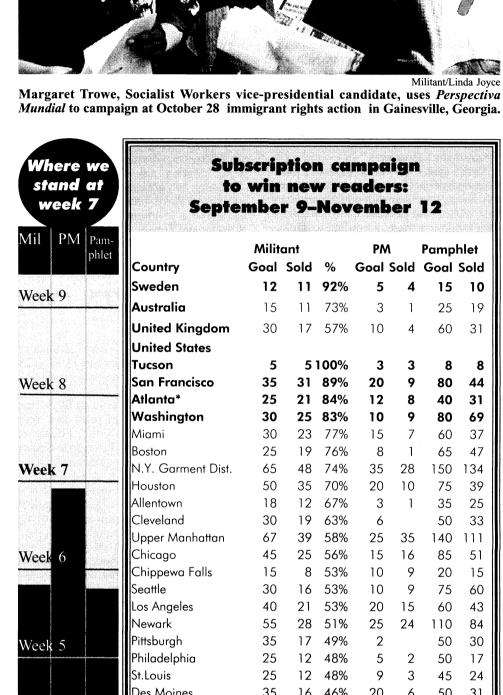
Forrestal said his co-workers also bought four copies of The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning and one copy of the pamphlet Coal Miners on Strike.

#### Placing Pathfinder in stores nationwide

Along with campaigning to sell subscriptions to the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial, socialist workers in San Francisco are collaborating with supporters of the communist movement to sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets to bookstores and libraries in that city. This work to place Pathfinder titles in commercial book outlets has been part of the political preparations for a meeting on the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial Fund. The November 11 event will feature a talk by Argiris Malapanis centered on the events in Yugoslavia.

The effort to place orders for Pathfinder titles in bookstores and libraries is part of a range of activities organized by socialist workers and Young Socialists to expand the revolutionary press, which includes selling at plant gates; setting up street tables in working-class areas, and sales on the job. This strengthens the presence of communists in workers districts, and leverages their work toward the industries, workplaces, and unions they are members of. It also aids the recruitment of workers and farmers who can be drawn into the effort to expand the reach of the Militant, PM, and Pathfinder.

The sales campaign can be effectively complemented by organizing class series on the political material in the Militant and Pathfinder books. In some areas, classes have been held on The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning.



MUA-Maritime Union of Australia: NDU-National Distribution Union; TCFUA-Textile, Clothing and Footwear Union of Australia; UFCW-United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA-United Mine Workers of America; UNITE-Union of Needletrades. Industrial and Textile

Employees

United States

18

35

83

12

12 67%

13 43%

23%

40%

8%

50%

8

33

1

1

UMWA

UNITE

UFCW

U.S. total

Canada

Australia

raised goal\*

UFCW

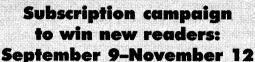
MUA

Week 4

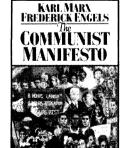
Week 3

Week 2

Week 1



	Militant		PM		Pamphlet		
Country	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Sweden	12	11	<b>92</b> %	5	4	15	10
Australia	15	11	73%	3	1	25	19
United Kingdom	30	17	57%	10	4	60	31
United States							
Tucson	5	5	100%	3	3	8	8
San Francisco	35	31	89%	20	9	80	44
Atlanta*	25	21	84%	12	8	40	31
Washington	30	25	83%	10	9	80	69
Miami	30	23	77%	15	7	60	37
Boston	25	19	76%	8	1	65	47
N.Y. Garment Dist.	65	48	74%	35	28	150	134
Houston	50	35	70%	20	10	75	39
Allentown	18	12	67%	3	1	35	25
Cleveland	30	19	63%	6		50	33
Upper Manhattan	67	39	58%	25	35	140	111
Chicago	45	25	56%	15	16	85	51
Chippewa Falls	15	8	53%	10	9	20	15
Seattle	30	16	53%	10	9	75	60
Los Angeles	40	21	53%	20	15	60	43
Newark	55	28	51%	25	24	110	84
Pittsburgh	35	17	49%	2		50	30
Philadelphia	25	12	48%	5	2	50	17
St.Louis	25	12	48%	9	3	45	24
Des Moines	35	16	46%	20	6	50	31
Charlotte	15	6	40%	5		50	23
Detroit	20	8	40%	5	2	35	28
Fresno	10	4	40%	6	6	30	13
Twin Cities	55	21	38%	25	22	110	20
Brooklyn	60	22	37%	30	29	120	66
Fort Collins	20	6	30%	1	,	20	13
Birmingham	35 10	10	29% 10%	2 5	1	50	10
Tampa Other	10		10%	5	1	15	7
U.S. total	910	3 513	56%	252	1 255	1750	1112
	910	313	36%	352	255	1758	1113
New Zealand	1.5	0	E 20/	,		20	10
Auckland Christchurch	15 8	8 4	53% 50%	1		20 10	12 5
N.Z. total	23	12	52%	2		30	17
Canada				_			
Vancouver	30	17	57%	5	1	40	24
Montreal	15	7	47%	5	2	35	33
Toronto	25	7	28%	6		35	27
Canada total	70	31	44%	16		110	84
Iceland	8	3	38%	1		12	8
Int'l totals	1068	598	60%	389	264	2010	1282
Goal/Should be	1000	780	<b>78</b> %	350	273	2000	1560
In the unions							
New Zealand	New Zealand						
NDU	1	1	100%				



#### The Communist Manifesto

KARL MARX, FREDERICK ENGELS

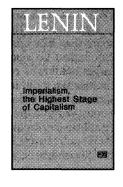
Founding document of the modern working-class movement, published in 1848. Explains why communists act on the basis not of preconceived principles but of facts springing from the actual class struggle, and why communism, to the degree it is a theory, is the generalization of the historical line of march of the working class and of the political conditions for its liberation. Also available in Spanish. \$3.95

#### Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism

"I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, that of the economic essence of imperialism," Lenin wrote in 1917. "For unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics." \$3.95

#### FROM PATHFINDER

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3.00 to cover shipping and handling.



18

60

50

128

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6

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## Trowe: 'Time for workers, farmers to take control'

Reprinted below is an article that appeared in the October 25 issue of the Oracle, newspaper at the University of South Florida (USF) in Tampa. It was headlined, "Working to reclaim government: Margaret Trowe said it's time for workers and farmers to take control." Kevin Graham is the paper's managing editor.

#### **BY KEVIN GRAHAM**

She has spent the past five months traveling to cities and towns across the nation and in foreign countries, speaking to the working class and farmers. And Tuesday, Margaret Trowe, vice-presidential candidate for the Socialist Workers Party, visited USF.

"We have a lot of support in this area," Trowe said. "There was good response when (James Harris, Socialist Workers candidate for president) came here."

Trowe said USF was an attractive place to campaign because younger voters generally haven't decided with which party they best relate. And because many Floridians earn minimum wage, according to Trowe, she said her message is more accepted by voters across the state.

As a meat packer for Quality Pork Processors in Minnesota, the slaughterhouse for Hormel Foods, Trowe said she knows what it's like to be oppressed in a capitalist system. And neither Republicans nor Democrats will stop the oppression, Trowe said.

"Both capitalist parties claim to support workers and farmers, but they need the capitalist system for their benefit," said Trowe. "They need the racism and discrimination because it keeps them on top."

And it's not until a revolution comes about, said Trowe, that there can be an end to worldwide domination in America by capitalists.

"Our campaign is about giving a voice to the struggling workers," Trowe said. "I'm meeting the fighters and linking them together. And we're pretty optimistic because we're finding more openness to our idea that we need a movement."

Trowe said the working class has a chance for the first time since the 1930s to take control of the government. She said the increase in the number of blacks, immigrants and Hispanics in society has made for a stronger voice, not a weak system.

"There's no such thing as an 'American job,'" Trowe said. "We all need jobs and these different groups aren't taking jobs away from the white supremacists. If anything, we have more leadership around the world fighting against oppression since the rise of blacks, immigrants and women in the workplace."

It's important to recognize the struggle minority groups have overcome and give them credit, Trowe said.

"It's not politicians who gave rights to black people," she said. "It was their mobilization that swept out a system no one thought could be changed."

Trowe said it's hard to get recognition from media outlets that are run by the capitalist system. But she and Harris fight for every bit of coverage, she said. And in doing so, Trowe said the Socialist Workers have been able to get on 13 ballots across the nation, including Florida, for the Nov. 7 election. That's two more states than in 1996, Trowe said.

"It took 31,000 signatures to get on the ballot in New York State; and because California required 150,000 signatures, we were not able to put the effort into obtaining that many signatures—so we aren't on California's ballot," Trowe said.

Helping with the campaign stop in Tampa were Plant City resident and farmer Karl Butts and campaign worker Nell Wheeler.

Perspectiva mundial

A Spanish-language socialist magazine
Special offer for new readers:
\$6 for 4 months

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410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Butts said he got involved with the Socialist Workers during the spring when the party sent a group of farmers—one of whom was Butts—to Cuba.

Butts said he agreed with much of the Socialist Workers' views, such as defending the Cuban revolt, and decided to continue supporting the party.

Junior Denise Murray said she is a Democrat in the traditional sense. But she thought Socialist Workers and Democrats had a few things in common.

"We are both for the working man and wanting better wages," Murray said. "But (Wheeler) seems to think we are very different."

Murray said she visited the booth to get more information about the Socialist Workers for other people.

"I want to make others aware that there are different organizations that might fit their needs," Murray said.

Though he's not a member of the Social

Though he's not a member of the Socialist Workers Party, junior William Farruggut had about a 15-minute conversation with Wheeler and Trowe.

"I'm a Communist," said Farruggut, who

is from Venezuela. "I'm with the working people and whatever helps them."

Farruggut agreed with Trowe's message that workers need more recognition for their role in society.

"I'm not for the rich people—maybe because I'm not one of them—but they sit around and do nothing while the poor people work and get nothing,' Farruggut said. "What we need is a revolution. And in order for us to take over, young people need to get up and vote. We have Republicans and Democrats. What's the difference? Vote Communists or for a Socialist party."



Militant /Dave Wuln

Socialist Workers presidential candidate James Harris speaking in Birmingham, Alabama. Socialist candidates have taken their campaign to fighting workers, farmers and youth throughout the United States and several other countries.

## Protesters condemn brutal Israeli repression

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON—Several thousand people marched and rallied here October 28 to oppose the Israeli regime's repression against the Palestinian people.

Banners and large Palestinian flags were carried by contingents of protesters from Boston; Dearborn and Detroit, Michigan; Chicago; Cleveland; and Paterson and other cities in New Jersey. In conjunction with the rally, several hundred young people attempted to picket just outside the White House gate. A throng of helmeted police sealed off the sidewalk and street, forcing them back into Lafayette park.

The action was organized by a coalition of Islamic centers and other Arab-American organizations. Among them were the American Muslim Council, Muslim Student Association, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Islamic Society of North America, and the Palestine Right to Return Coalition.

"I came because what is taking place in Palestine is horrible," stated Ahmad El-Tab, 15. He came with four busloads of people from the Paterson area, home to a large Arab community. "The Israelis think they are unbeatable and that the Palestinians should be their slaves. We are showing them in the streets that we are human beings," El-Tab said. He proudly pointed out that 30 students from his high school were also there.

"The U.S. media and government have taken the side of Israel," stated 26-year-old Ali Amin. He came with a busload from Chicago. Amin added, "We are here to show there is support in this country for the Palestinian people."

"We are described as those people who hate the Jews and are always fighting," said Alisah Alaq, who came with her family from Dearborn. "But the people of Palestine are like me—they have families, homes, and jobs. We are not fighting Israeli people. Our fight is with the Zionist government of Israel, which has stolen the Palestinian land."

#### Clinton and Lazio smear Muslims

Some demonstrators expressed outrage at U.S. politicians who have smeared Arab immigrants as terrorists. They pointed to the senatorial campaign in New York, where Democratic candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton demonstratively returned a \$50,000 donation from a Muslim organization after her Republican opponent, Richard Lazio, implied it was a "terrorist" group.

"It is as if money from American Muslims is not the same as it is from other Americans," remarked an indignant Rima Samo, who came with other Palestinian-Americans from Hawthorne, New Jersey.

Most of the speakers from the platform were leaders of Islamic organizations. Many of them called on the Clinton administration to take action to get negotiations resumed between Israeli and Palestinian officials. Some, like Khalid Turaani, director of one of the sponsoring Islamic groups, said



Militant/Dan Fein

Demonstration for Palestinian rights held at State Capitol in Atlanta, October 20.

the U.S. government was "pandering" to "the powerful voice of the Israelis," and argued, "Our administration has the responsibility to play an evenhanded role."

Speakers urged demonstrators to lobby the Democratic and Republican party presidential candidates.

## Workers' cause knows no borders, says socialist in 'Times' interview

The following is taken from an article in the October 25 New York Times covering the six candidates appearing on the ballot for U.S. Senate in New York State besides Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton and Republican Richard Lazio. These are Socialist Workers candidate Jacob Perasso, Mark Dunau of the Green Party, John Clifton of the Libertarian Party, Louis Wein of the Constitution Party, John Adefope of the Right to Life Party, and Jeffrey Graham of the Independence Party.

#### BY DEAN MURPHY

...Mr. Lazio, the Republican nominee, complains of being at a disadvantage because of Mrs. Clinton's blinding celebrity. (Who has not heard of the first lady?)

But Mr. Lazio (he has nonetheless raised more than \$29 million to her \$25 million) can expect no sympathy from the cast of larger unknowns on the Nov. 7 ballot who include the radio talk show host Jeffrey E. Graham of the Independence Party (the third largest party in the state) and the would-be revolutionary Jacob J. Perasso of the Socialist Workers Party. The party offers no membership numbers. Mr. Perasso says it is not looking for votes, but to overthrow greedy

Mr. Perasso of the Socialist Workers Party works nights at a print shop for the alterna-

tive press in the Bronx, putting him in bed when most other candidates are at least thinking about wooing voters during the daytime.

But skipping the job is out of the question. Mr. Perasso depends on his weekly salary of \$200, and, he says, he is more committed to getting into broader circulation books by Malcolm X, Che Guevara and his other favorite authors at the print shop than he is in scoring campaign points.

Shortly after graduating from college in Santa Cruz, Calif., in 1998, Mr. Perasso worked 11 months at a slaughterhouse in Chicago so that he could better understand the hardships of assembly line workers. His most ambitious campaign swing to date was to Australia and New Zealand, where he joined workers on picket lines and did radio interviews in support of "an international revolutionary movement."

He sees no contradiction in campaigning half a world away, he says, because the workers' cause knows no borders.

"We believe the history of the working class movement is so crucial to the building of our movement," said Mr. Perasso, 24, who moved last summer to the Bronx from Detroit (more meatpacking jobs there) and who would like to see the United States follow the model of Fidel Castro's Cuba. "If there were no books, I don't believe a socialist revolution could happen...."

## Vote Socialist Workers in 2000

## Working-class alternative to parties of big business

Listed below are the Socialist Workers candidates for federal office in the 2000 elections. The socialist presidential and vice-presidential candidates, James Harris and Margaret Trowe, are on the ballot in 13 states—Colorado, Florida, Iowa, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Washington State, and Wisconsin-and the District of Columbia. Due to undemocratic election laws designed to keep workingclass candidates off the ballot, most of the Socialist Workers candidates will not appear on the ballot. In such cases, the candidates are running as write-ins and their names have been indicated with an asterisk (\*). Union acronyms are listed at bottom of page.

cisco and a member of the UFCW.\* Congress, 20th C.D.: Ned Measel, 45, is a meat packer from Fresno.\*

#### **FLORIDA**

U.S. Senate: Argiris Malapanis, 42, is a meat packer from Miami.

#### **GEORGIA**

Congress, 5th C.D.: Dan Fein, 55, is a textile worker from Atlanta.\*

#### **ILLINOIS**

Congress, 4th C.D.: Elizabeth Stone, 61, is from Chicago.\*

Congress, 5th C.D.: Lisa Potash, 48, is a garment worker in Chicago and a member of UNITE Local 39-C.\*

Congress, 4th C.D.: Edwin Fruit, 53,



Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Minnesota Rebecca Ellis (third from left) participates in a debate with panel of other candidates for that office October 12.

#### **MINNESOTA**

U.S. Senate: Rebecca Ellis, 52, is from St. Paul.

#### **MISSOURI**

U.S. Senate: Alyson Kennedy, 50, is a garment worker and member of UNITE from St. Louis.\*

#### **NEW JERSEY**

U.S. Senate: Nancy Rosenstock, 51, is UNITE from Newark.

Congress, 10th C.D.: Maurice Williams, 43, from Newark, is a staff

#### **NEW YORK**

U.S. Senate: Jacob Perasso, 24, from

Congress, 10th C.D.: Glova Scott, 45, is a garment worker from Brooklyn.\*

Congress, 12th C.D.: Paul Pederson, 25, from Brooklyn, is a volunteer in

Congress, 14th C.D.: Douglas Nelson, 25, from Manhattan, is a volunteer in Pathfinder's printshop and a member

Congress, 15th C.D.: John Hawkins, 51, from Manhattan, is a volunteer in

Congress, 16th C.D.: William Estrada, 32, from Manhattan, is a packinghouse worker and member of the U.S. Senate: Frank Forrestal, 44, from Pittsburgh, is a member of the UMWA and a coal miner in southwestern Pennsylvania.\*

Congress, 1st C.D.: John P. Crysdale, 21, is a packinghouse worker and a member of the Young Socialists.\*

#### **TEXAS**

**PENNSYLVANIA** 

U.S. Senate: Lea Sherman, 52, is a meat packer from Houston.\*



Dan Fein, senatorial candidate in Atlanta, speaks at protest against Israeli repression.

Congress, 18th C.D.: Dave Ferguson, 44, is a sewing machine operator from Houston.\*

Congress, 22nd C.D.: Dean Cook, 37, is a packinghouse worker and lockedout member of the Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers Union at Crown Petroleum.\*

#### WASHINGTON, D.C.

D.C. Delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives: Sam Manuel, 50.

UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers, UMWA—United Mine Workers of America, UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees.

a garment worker and member of

writer for the Militant.

Congress, 13th C.D.: Kari Sachs, 35, is a packinghouse worker from Newark.

OHIO

Militant/Ron Poulsen

is a packinghouse worker from Des

Moines and a member of UFCW Lo-

U.S. Senate: Ted Leonard, 47, is a

Congress, 8th C.D.: Andrea Morell,

Congress, 9th C.D.: Brock Satter, 29,

U.S. Senate: Christopher Hoeppner,

the UFCW from Detroit.\*

47, is a meat packer and member of

is a meat packer from Boston.\*

meat packer from Boston.\*

the Bronx, is a volunteer in Pathfinder's printshop and a member of the Young Socialists.

Congress, 8th C.D.: Olga Rodríguez, 52, is from Manhattan.\*

Pathfinder's printshop.

of the Young Socialists.\*

Pathfinder's printshop.\*

UFCW. \*

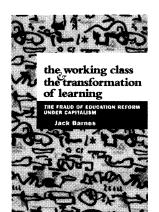
U.S. Senate: Michael Fitzsimmons, 40,

UNITE in Cleveland.\*

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Militant/Bernie Senter Deborah Liatos, right, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in California, speaking with workers from Earthgrains bakery in Oakland.

## Yugoslavia: working people press for the

### New regime seeks to demobilize workers, aims to pursue integration into

Continued from front page

ers interviewed at the plant gate, the mood was mostly self-confident and hopeful for improved conditions. Many described different aspects of the new political space that working people have won since the overthrow of the hated Milosevic regime in early October—the increased ability to speak out, discuss politics, and organize for their rights.

At the same time, discussions with a number of people at DIN indicate that the fight to keep and extend the increased degree of control that workers have begun to

## Firsthand report from Yugoslavia

exert—to improve job conditions, raise living standards, and protect the gains of nationalized property—is only beginning and is full of contradictions.

Similar changes, as well as challenges facing working people, are unfolding across the country in many spheres of life.

#### Outrage over 1999 NATO bombing

"Virtually nothing has been repaired in the factory since the NATO bombing," said Suzana Storadinovic before going into the plant for her shift that day. Buildings bombed last year can still be seen burned out. Most of the complex is operational, however, and workers said the 3,000 employees have been back to work for almost a year.

a year.

"The one thing that we fixed since last year is the kindergarten and child-care center," said Ljiljana Jovanovic, who works in cigarette packaging. "As you can see, that's needed for many of us to be able to work," she added, pointing to a number of workers picking up their kids from child care at the end of their shift.

These two workers, and all others interviewed outside DIN, voiced their vehement opposition to the military assault led by Washington last year. All working people interviewed in different cities expressed this view, regardless of their opinions on other questions.

"It's a lie that Clinton's target was Milosevic and his military," said Snezana Arantelovic, another production worker. "Why did he hit our plants? We got rid of Milosevic, not NATO."

These workers—along with Zoran Milojkovic, who took *Militant* reporters to the plant—explained what happened in the days leading up to October 5, when a mass revolt and general political strike forced Milosevic to resign and concede victory to

Vojislav Kostunica, presidential candidate of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS). Milojkovic is the local president of Nezavisnost (Independence), the largest trade union federation not tied directly to the previous regime.

On October 4, DIN's manager locked employees inside the factory to try to prevent them from joining protests in town, we were told. Approximately 50,000 people had gathered in downtown Nis that day to demand that Milosevic step down. At one point, unionists led the crowd in a march on the DIN complex, surrounding the plant and forcing the gates open so that thousands of tobacco workers could join the demonstration.

"That was the end of Zoran Arantelovic," said Snezana Arantelovic, referring to the former DIN director. "And no, I am not related to that man," she added emphatically, with a smile.

Workers at DIN launched a five-day strike that day, joining hundreds of thousands of others around Serbia who had already taken job action to demand Milosevic respect the popular will and resign.

Nearly 10,000 people from Nis, including many from DIN, went to Belgrade the next morning as part of the half-million-strong outpouring that led to the toppling of the regime, several tobacco workers reported. Nis, with a population of more than 300,000, is Yugoslavia's second-largest city.

Milojkovic said that on the morning of October 5, he along with dozens of others took over the main police station in Nis, in a preemptive attempt to stop the cops from sending reinforcements to Belgrade.

#### Replacement of DIN manager

"The main demand of our strike was to remove the entire management board," Snezana Arantelovic said. "The manager stole 40 million Deutsche marks from the company. He forced us to work during the bombings last year. He was replaced after the strike." Workers in the administration have found hard evidence of embezzlement, and a committee has now been set up to investigate, she added.

The pro-Milosevic manager resigned October 9 and the entire management board of DIN has since been replaced. Those interviewed said workers in the plant were not consulted on the new appointments and did not know who made them. The new manager is a local leader of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia.

"It's better now on the job. Today I was able to speak to the new manager about some problems at work," said Predrag Draganic, an operator of a tobacco processing machine, after getting off work. "Before we just had to shut up and work. The old manager was only for himself, and to hell with the workers. The change is good. But I don't know how much is due to the new manager and how much is due to the

Anosevic to resign and conceas visits in the concease visits in the

Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Ikarbus bus manufacturing plant on outskirts of Belgrade, October 26. Workers there joined general political strike and mass revolt that forced Milosevic to resign in early October. They are now pressing to remove manager for bureaucratic abuse of employees and misuse of power for personal enrichment. In their attempt to gain more control of job conditions, they have run up against obstacles erected by leaders of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia, new president Vojislav Kostunica's party.

strike and what we did."

The old trade union also "fell apart," said Arantelovic, referring to the officialdom tied to the Milosevic regime. "The union is still here, but the people who run it have changed. We put pressure on the union bureaucrats to support us going on strike. They had no choice," said Arantelovic.

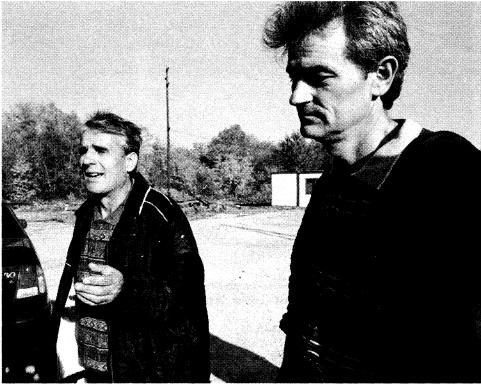
Earlier that day, *Militant* reporters had visited the office of Nezavisnost in central Nis. In an interview there, local union president Milojkovic said that a number of workers from 30 companies, including DIN, had left the pro-Milosevic union and joined Nezavisnost in the last three weeks of October. In Belgrade, Nezavisnost leaders told the *Militant* that national membership has jumped from 200,000 to as much as half a million in the same period.

From what workers at the DIN plant gate and other factories reported, however, these claims may be exaggerated. At the tobacco plant, all those interviewed knew about the with the anti-working-class methods of planning and management by the previous bureaucratic regimes in Yugoslavia. It has also been sharply exacerbated by the economic war and military assaults by Washington and other imperialist powers throughout the 1990s.

Many working people believe the collapse of Milosevic's police state means they may have a better chance to fight to improve these conditions. Others are not as optimistic, however.

At the DIN plant gate, *Militant* reporters met a number of unemployed workers who had just applied for a job at the tobacco factory. Slobodanka Stoiljkovic said 1,500 people had showed up that morning to apply for 58 openings at DIN. She thought she had virtually no chance of getting a job there.

"Most, if not all, of the 58 jobs have already been given out," she stated. "Before, you had to be for Milosevic. Now you still



Militant/ Argiris Malapanis

Coal miners Tejic Zivota (left) and Stojan Aksentijvic at entrance to Field D mine in Kolubara region October 26. The miners' strike was pivotal in bringing down hated regime. Zivota was among thousands of miners and other workers who opposed the wars Milosevic and rival bureaucratic regimes launched since 1991 for control of land and resources to maintain their parasitic existence. Zivota opposed breakup of Yugoslavia and Milosevic's murderous attempts to keep the former federation under his control. "We were forced to go to Croatia and fight," he said. "I escaped the draft from the Yugoslav army twice, but they got me in the end."

fleeing of the old union officials. Only one worker, however, had heard anything about Nezavisnost organizing at the plant.

Susana Storadinovic said she had been taking part in protests over the last 10 years against the wars that the Milosevic regime initiated, against the regime's chauvinist policies, and for democratic rights. During all this time, she pointed out, "wages have not changed." Workers at the DIN complex make on average 200 DM per month, several reported.

Even though this is the "best wage in Nis," as Ljiljana Jovanovic put it, many workers can make ends meet only by getting some food from relatives in the countryside, cultivating a piece of land they have, or selling goods on the side. A majority of Nis's population still has ties to the land, we were told.

While wages for employed workers averaged 150 DM (US\$81) per month last year, minimum expenses for food and utilities such as electricity and telephone were around 200 DM per month

around 200 DM per month.

Economic conditions, not just in Nis but for the majority of Yugoslavia's people, are devastating. According to figures cited by Nezavisnost officials and RTS television, unemployment is somewhere between 50 percent and 70 percent in a population of 11 million. Inflation is high and the black market continues in relation to such basic necessities as gasoline, heating fuel, and a range of food items.

This economic crisis is the result of the world capitalist economic crisis combined

have to be connected with the government."

#### Resistance to undermining state property

Among the "reforms" implemented by the Milosevic regime and its predecessors that opened up Yugoslavia increasingly to the laws of the capitalist market was a form of "privatization" of some state-owned industries. Under this scheme, shares were issued to workers, managers, and others outside the company. The "stockholders" supposedly decided how the company was run. In reality, cronies of the regime, especially in management, used the setup to siphon more assets from these firms.

In some cases, managers had gone so far in acting as company owners that they tried to legalize turning over the entire enterprise to themselves, especially as they saw the end of the Milosevic regime approaching.

One such case was Rudo, a plant in Nis that manufactures orthopedic medical equipment. It was one of the plants that was badly damaged by the NATO air raids. The damage to the top floors from the bombs last year has not been fixed.

When *Militant* reporters arrived at Rudo on the afternoon of October 27, the shift had ended early so we did not meet any of the workers except the security guard, who is in the union. The story he and Nezavisnost officials recounted was largely confirmed in articles from the local press. Workers have put up a large poster with the names of all the company managers whose removal they have won, and have dubbed that side of the factory building "the

## eir rights

## world market system

wall of shame."

A number of the 100 workers at this factory found out that most of the company managers were trying to privatize the company—that is, make it their own—days before Milosevic's downfall. The workers' union, Nezavisnost, is officially in favor of "privatization," according to union bro-

Workers immediately occupied the plant October 2, declared a strike, and demanded the arrest of these managers. The arrests took place by October 7, the day after Milosevic resigned. Two weeks later, a local court codified the workers' victory by annulling all the actions of the managers o make the plant private property.

It is such actions by workers--not by the newly formed "crisis committees" as the Militant reported in a previous article—that in practice have defended nationalized property relations and countered attempts by the would-be capitalists in power to open up Yugoslavia further to capitalist penetration.

#### Character of 'crisis committees'

As far as Militant reporters could find, these "crisis committees" at many different workplaces have been organized by leaders of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia from outside the enterprises involved. They are not made up of workers. The committees seek to ensure that DOS supporters are appointed as new managers in workplaces where workers have forced the removal of hated directors.

In Kragujevac, for example, DOS leaders initiated such a "crisis committee" to replace the management of the large Zastava auto plant. The committee was led by a representative of the Christian Democratic Party who had never worked for Zastava. The old guard was swiftly replaced by new directors loyal to DOS, with little or no consultation with the workers. Nezavisnost, which organizes about 20 percent of the workers in that plant, and its members were excluded from any involvement in this process, said Milan Nikolic, a Jezavisnost executive board member in Belgrade from the metalworkers union.

In other cases, DOS leaders have tried to slow down removal of hated managersespecially where workers have taken steps to assume more control on the job—and strike deals with Socialist Party officials, who continue to head many of the country's istitutions and enterprises.

At the Ikarbus bus manufacturing plant in Belgrade, for example, the majority of

#### Help fund the 'Militant' reporting team to Yugoslavia

Contributions are needed to help fund the recent Militant reporting trip to Yugoslavia. They can be made to the Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Fund; checks can be made out to the Militant (see page 4 report).

the workforce abandoned the pro-Milosevic trade union and signed up with the metalworkers branch of Nezavisnost to fight more effectively to improve working conditions and wages, Nezavisnost supporters reported. One of the demands of the workers was the removal of the company manager for bureaucratic abuse of the workers and corruption. These unionists said their goal was to do this by secret ballot of all employees. They also planned to elect worker representatives to an assembly that would give workers a say in who is appointed as new administrators.

DOS leaders, however, pressured and convinced union lawyers, administrative personnel, and Nezavisnost officials to slow down this process and, instead, build up a criminal case against the manager so he could be replaced in "a legal manner."

#### Changes within the privileged caste

These instances underscore the fact that the new government headed by Vojislav Sostunica does not represent a qualitative break from the former Milosevic regime in its political course and class character. While the old policestate regime has been replaced, the new petty-bourgeois government continues to defend the interests of the privileged bureaucratic caste that politically rules the Yugoslav workers state.

The leaders of the DOS and Serbian Renewal Movement—the two main opposition groups that are now part of a "transition government" in Serbia along with the former ruling Socialist Party of Serbia—are part of the same social caste that Milosevic and his cronies belong to.

The new regime incorporates new layers from the intelligentsia and middle classes who were not in positions of power before October 5. The leadership of the Democratic Party, of which Kostunica is president, is

largely composed of lawyers, doctors, university professors, and other professionals with a bourgeois orientation and thoroughly anti-working-class program.

The DOS has adopted an economic program that calls for widespread privatization of state-run enterprises and aims at rapid integration of Yugoslavia into the world capitalist market system. It projects selling off the cement and tobacco industries, the state airline, the Novi Sad oil refinery, the electrical company, and the petrochemical industry. Their plans count on massive international loans, and government officials are already pursuing membership in the International Monetary Fund and World

In some cases, DOS leaders are trying to take over institutions previously used by the Milosevic regime, or strike deals for joint control with Socialist Party leaders, and use them for their own purposes.

In an October 24 interview at the Nezavisnost national headquarters in Belgrade, Milan Nikolic stated, "Certain DOS leaders have put Nezavisnost in a very difficult situation. They have breathed life into the union federation that was tied with Milosevic and are trying to turn it into their union-against our efforts to reorganize most workers into Nezavisnost. We have not made a big deal out of this yet because we don't want to break ranks since we share

At the Zastava auto plant in Kragujevac, Nezavisnost supporters there report that DOS leaders are trying to take control of the formerly pro-Milosevic union and keep Nezavisnost isolated from trying to organize a bigger section of the workforce than it currently does.

In some cases, DOS leaders have run into some initial opposition in trying to sweep their people into positions at the head of universities, state-owned enterprises, and other institutions.

Bojan Boskovic, a leader of the Students Union of Yugoslavia at the University of Novi Sad, related one such instance. His organization campaigned against the U.S.-NATO bombing of Yugoslavia and opposed the brutal, chauvinist policies of the Milosevic regime in Kosova. It was also among the main organizers of local protests demanding the ouster of Milosevic leading up to the October 5 revolt.

In Novi Sad, Boskovic said, students took action to stop or slow down the replacement of deans and heads of university departments. He said this was because the local politicians that won the September 24 elections were trying to replace the old guard with individuals chosen on the basis of their rank in the DOS, disregarding opinions of students and other faculty.

The toppling of the secret-police Milosevic regime creates more possibilities for workers and farmers in Yugoslavia to debate and engage in political activity,



Left to right: Suzana Storadinovic, Snevana Arantelovic, and Ljiljana Jovanovic, workers at the Tobacco Industry of Nis (DIN) plant, outside main factory gate October 27. The plant was severely damaged by repeated NATO air raids last year. "It's a lie to say Clinton's target was Milosevic and his military," said Arantelovic. "Why did he hit our plants? We got rid of Milosevic, not NATO."

and to be exposed to the influence of working-class and anti-imperialist struggles around the world. Conditions are more favorable for them to take advantage of these openings because of the decisive role that workers and farmers played in the events that led to the toppling of that regime.

#### Activists in 'Resistance'

None of the existing political currents or organizations, however, has a perspective, or is seeking in practice, to lead vanguard workers in that direction. Working people will need to go through further political experience to develop such a leader-

Otpor (Resistance), for example, is by all accounts the most widely known political organization in Serbia that emerged over the last year. Composed mainly of college and high school students and other youth, it was founded two years ago by activists in the Students Union of Yugoslavia and other student organizations. Its leaders say their membership has reached 40,000 in recent months in some 200 cities throughout Serbia. Large posters and stickers produced by the group are visible on highways as well as in the five cities and the rural Kolubara area that Militant reporters visited.

Otpor campaigned for the resignation of Milosevic, and leading Otpor activists opposed his chauvinist policies in Kosova as well as the U.S.-NATO bombing. The group played a prominent role in the protests that led to Milosevic's resignation. The group officially espouses pacifist positions.

Four Otpor activists who spoke to Militant reporters October 23 said that what distinguished it from other student organizations is they have no official leadership structure. "That's why the police could not destroy us, even though they arrested 3,000 of our supporters the last year," said Milos Milenkovic, an economics student at the University of Belgrade and an Otpor leader.

The group appears to be politically very heterogeneous. Milenkovic said that since the toppling of Milosevic the axis of the organization has been shifting toward advocating "a civil and democratic society" a statement taken from phrases of the pettybourgeois opposition that won the presidential election. Asked if he meant capitalism, Milenkovic replied that most people in western Europe live better than those in Yugoslavia and "we should learn from that. We are talking about a transition towards those societies." He was also unsettled by the burning of parliament and other "chaotic" acts during the October 5 uprising and said Otpor is asking people to return to the parliament building items they removed from it that day.

Damir Eres, on the other hand, expressed different views on many matters, views that appear to be held by a minority in Otpor. Eres, a medical student in Belgrade, was unequivocal in his opposition to Washington's intervention in the Balkans, not just the NATO bombing in Serbia. He condemned proposals by politicians in the imperialist countries to put Milosevic on trial in The Hague, declaring that only the people of Yugoslavia can try him for his crimes. He argued for returning autonomy to Albanians in Kosova, pointing out that the imperialist troops now occupying Kosova are largely responsible for sowing divisions between Albanians and Serbs, not just Milosevic's past actions.

Eres and Milenkovic noted that Otpor today includes youth as well as some older Continued on page 14

A meeting for the 'Militant' and 'Perspectiva Mundial' Fund

**Hear Argiris Malapanis** 

#### After the toppling of the Milosevic regime: Working people in Yugoslavia extend their political space

Malapanis was a member of a team of worker-correspondents for the 'Militant' who traveled to Yugoslavia to meet workers, farmers, students, and others who helped lead the revolt that toppled the regime of Slobodan Milosevic.

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## Socialist workers meet to discuss resistance deepening in garment and textile industries

#### BY MICHAEL FITZSIMMONS AND LAUREN HART

CHICAGO—"Garment, textile, and industrial laundry workers are increasingly resisting the bosses' drive to reap more profits off our labor, and these workers are more and more turning to their union, UNITE," said Alyson Kennedy, a sewing machine operator in St. Louis. Kennedy gave the opening report to an October 28-29 meeting of members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists who work in garment shops and textile mills organized by the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE).

In mid-October, 250 workers at a commercial laundry in Oceanside, New York, walked off the job for three days and won recognition of UNITE as their union. They are fighting for better pay, improved working conditions, and an end to abusive treatment by the bosses. Through their strike, they also kicked out a previous companybacked "union."

Laundry workers have won other strike victories nationally, including in Chicago and Miami. Some 1,600 laundry workers in Las Vegas voted for representation by UNITE in September. An organizing drive is now under way at Royal Airlines Laundry in Chicago. Militants from several union textile plants and laundries have traveled to other cities to participate in organizing drives and strikes of other workers in their industry. According to the fall 2000 issue of the UNITE magazine, some 25,000 commercial laundry workers now belong to the union, out of an overall membership of 250,000.

Earlier this year textile workers at Pillowtex plants in Scottsboro, Alabama, and Rocky Mount, North Carolina, voted to join UNITE. This follows the June 1999 unionization victory at the Pillowtex (formerly Fieldcrest Cannon) mills in the Kannapolis, North Carolina, area. More than 9,000 workers at 16 Pillowtex plants throughout the South are now organized by UNITE. Many of these plants are located in areas with large concentrations of mills.

In early October, 25 cutters at Jae Young, a women's apparel shop in Queens, New York, shut down their machines and marched into the boss' office wearing UNITE caps to demand union recognition. They won this demand and are now preparing for contract negotiations.

Over the last couple of years, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists have concentrated on deepening work among workers in meatpacking, mining, and the garment and textile industries, building fractions of socialist workers in UNITE, the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). Workers in these industries and unions are in the forefront of resisting the capitalist rulers' attacks on health



Laundry workers on strike at Tartan Textile in Pompano Beach, Florida, last July.

and safety, lengthening of the workday, increasing pace of work, and wages.

#### Part of 'American' working class

"As workers from Latin America, Asia, and the rest of the world are drawn into the plants, they also become part of the 'American' working class, often bringing experiences with them from struggles in their home countries," Kennedy explained. "They have taken their place as part of the vanguard in many of the organizing drives and shopfloor skirmishes taking place in garment, textile, and other industries."

As they draw in labor from around the world, the bosses and their government increase the use of the immigration cops and border patrol to brutalize and attempt to intimidate this layer of the working class. Garment workers, often organized in contingents by UNITE, have been part of actions in defense of immigrant rights. Jorge Ledesma, a sewing machine operator in a nonunion shop in New York's garment district, reported that he joined other garment workers on a UNITE-sponsored bus to the October 15 vigil protesting the rightist assault on immigrant workers in Farmingville, New York.

Another reflection of the growing weight of immigrant workers in the labor movement is the policy shift of the AFL-CIO to support a call for amnesty, which would give legal papers to many immigrants who have been in the United States for several years.

Meeting participants described some of the skirmishes taking place in their own plants that further dispel myths promoted by the bosses and many trade union officials who claim that garment workers are conservative, and that workers who are immigrants or who are women are afraid to fight. Nancy Rosenstock, a member of UNITE Local 506 in New Jersey, described how workers at the Individualized Shirt plant where she works turned to the union to respond to the company's threat to cut health benefits, and its decision to replace a 20-cent raise with a lump-sum bonus pegged to productivity.

"The majority of workers at my plant are from Mexico and countries in South and Central America." explained Rosenstock. "One afternoon about 40 workers gathered in the cafeteria on break and started banging on the tables to protest what the company was doing. They only stopped after the union representative agreed to hold a union meeting to discuss what to do."

Kerri Foster, a garment worker at a plant in a western Pennsylvania coal mining town, said that probes by the company to fire a worker and lengthen the probationary period for others had been pushed back by the workers. In coal mining regions, the fights in the garment shops and the emerging social movement to defend miners' health and safety and their union, the UMWA, reinforce each other, she said.

Don Hammond, a textile worker in North Carolina, described his discussions with textile workers in UNITE who marched in the Labor Day parade in Charlotte. Many marchers came from the Pillowtex plant in Kannapolis and spoke with confidence about confronting favoritism, racial discrimination, and other injustices by the company.

#### Branches in workers districts

"A major question facing every branch of the party today is locating our headquarters and rooting our political activity in workers districts," reported Alyson Kennedy, opening discussion on the second day of the fraction meeting. "Today we can leverage our sales of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and revolutionary literature by Pathfinder through regular weekly sales in workers' neighborhoods where we're based. This consistent work transforms the possibilities for utilizing the Militant Labor Forums, classes on the basics of Marxism, the Pathfinder bookstores, and the possibilities of recruitment to the revolutionary movement.

"We are placing ourselves in workers districts, among the sections of workers who are forging a new proletarian vanguard," continued Kennedy. "This is based entirely on the conviction that we will recruit militant workers we meet at weekly sales tables to the revolutionary party and Young Socialists."

"The Garment District branch is located right in the heart of hundreds of garment shops in midtown Manhattan. But locating our branch there is just the beginning," said Ruth Robinett. "In the last several weeks, we have begun systematically setting up

propaganda tables in the district and are starting to meet individual workers for a second and third time. Some have visited our bookstore a block or two away from where we set up our tables." Robinett said it was only through this course of activity that the branch can choose how to allocate its members to participate in social protest actions taking place in the city.

#### Socialist election campaign

Meeting participants discussed utilizing the final stretch of the Socialist Workers campaign and the week following to reach their goals in selling the pamphlet *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* and subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

"What have eight years of the Clinton administration meant for working people?" asked Jack Willey, participating in the meeting on behalf of the SWP Political Committee. The Democratic president took the first steps toward the dismantling of Social Security, with the elimination of Aid for Families with Dependent Children. His administration has overseen the increasing use of the death penalty, police forces, and immigration cops to attempt to strike fear into working people. It has taken big steps toward trying to achieve first-strike nuclear capacity for U.S. imperialism, through socalled missile defense systems, and carried out military assaults around the world from Iraq to Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Sudan, and elsewhere. And together with Congress, the Clinton administration has implemented several measures to substantially tighten the U.S. embargo against revolutionary Cuba. We can be sure the next president will continue along this course, Willey explained.

The Working-Class and the Transformation of Learning explains how these attacks are inherent to the capitalist system, and discusses the revolutionary struggle needed by workers and farmers to transform society. Together with the news and analysis of the class struggle internationally that appears in the Militant and the Spanish-language magazine Perspectiva Mundial, it is an invaluable tool for workers to broaden their political scope.

Nine garment and textile workers are Socialist Workers candidates in the federal elections. Lisa Potash took her campaign for U.S. Congress to the picket lines of strikers at the Five Star Laundry in Chicago this summer. That experience, and her active role in building solidarity at Hartmarx, where she works, for the strikes by laundry workers won a very open reception for her campaign among co-workers. Two workers from her plant came to hear Potash and SWP presidential candidate James Harris at a campaign meeting in Chicago October 14. One of these workers had also joined the candidates at a protest in defense of immigrant rights earlier that day.

Supporters of Alyson Kennedy's campaign for U.S. Senate sold the *Militant* and handed out a campaign statement against police brutality outside the garment shop where she works in St. Louis. This opened the door for deepening political discussions with several co-workers, she explained.

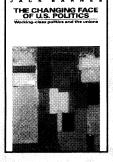
Meeting participants discussed the invaluable role of the election campaigns to speak to developments in world politics, like the unfolding resistance by Palestinians against Israeli repression and the recent revolt against the Milosevic regime in Yugoslavia

Also discussed was another important proletarian task for all units of the communist movement—to leverage the legacy and continuity of Marxism. That is, placing Pathfinder books in bookstores and libraries to make them more accessible to workers, farmers, and youth. Participants noted that several co-workers who regularly read Pathfinder books would be interested in working together with socialists to expand the reach of communist propaganda into more outlets in the region.

The weekend's meeting included participation in a special Militant Labor Forum titled, "The Cuban revolution: An example for Workers and Farmers in the U.S. Today." Consuelo Elba Alvarez and Katia de Llano spoke of their experiences as young participants in the revolutionary struggle that

Continued on page 12

from Pathfinder



## The Changing Face of U.S. Politics Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions

Jack Barnes

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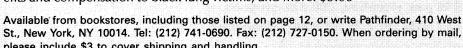
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## Israel's armed forces target Palestinian areas

#### Continued from front page

blocked Salah Al-Dein Street, the main road connecting the north and south of the Gaza Strip," the Palestinian Center for Human Rights reported October 26. Cement blocks barring passage along the road for Palestinians were set up near two Zionist settlements, which function under Israeli military protection.

"As a result of this blockage," the human rights center reported, "the Gaza Strip has been splintered into three separate cantons. Movement of people and vehicles has been denied."

The report also described the army's destruction of farms. "Palestinian olive trees, palm trees, and vegetables were leveled and a one-story house was demolished. Water facilities suffered damage as well."

The "closure" imposed by the Israeli military has starkly highlighted the reality of what has been set up under the 1993 Oslo agreement and subsequent Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. The accord granted limited "autonomy" to the Palestinian National Authority over a number of small, discontinuous spots of territory in the West Bank and Gaza. These pockets serve as targets for Israeli military assaults and are designed to fragment and isolate Palestinians while giving the outside world the illusion of Palestinian "self-rule."

Describing one such area surrounding the West Bank town of Yabed, New York Times reporter William Orme summarized the situation: "Palestinians run municipal services but the Israeli Army retains full security control." Israeli soldiers maintain a heavily armed presence under the cover of protecting a Zionist settlement there. On October 29, troops fired live ammunition at Palestinian youth throwing stones at cars headed to the rightist settlement, killing two brothers, Bilal and Hilal Salah, 19 and 21.

New York Times senior columnist Thomas Friedman wrote from the West Bank town of Ramallah, "The Israeli propaganda that the Palestinians mostly rule themselves in the

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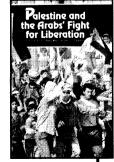
In response to the upsurge in the national liberation struggles in the Mideast in the 1960s and growing solidarity with the struggles of workers and



peasants in the region, the Socialist
Workers Party adopted the
resolution Israel and the Arab
Revolution. This Education for
Socialists bulletin contains the full
text of the resolution, and other
documents written to guide
revolutionary workers and farmers
in the struggle against imperialist
exploitation and Zionist rule.

## Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation

Fred Feldman and Georges Sayad An overview of the Palestinian struggle from World War I to the beginning of the intifada in 1987. \$4.00



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West Bank is fatuous nonsense. Sure, the Palestinians control their own towns, but the Israelis control all the roads connecting these towns and therefore all their movements."

The Israeli command concentrates its forces along access roads to Palestinian towns and around Zionist settlements. These fortified enclaves have long been a target of Palestinian protest. Tel Aviv accelerated the construction of settlements after the Oslo agreement.

"According to Israeli sources, since Oslo more than 78,000 additional colonists have gone to the territories, more than 11,000 houses have been built for them, and 895 Palestinian houses have been destroyed by the army," wrote columnist William Pfaff in the October 28 *International Herald Tribune*.

Hospital directors in the West Bank and officials of the Red Crescent report that Israeli soldiers are increasingly shooting to kill. The Israeli chief of staff, Gen. Sahul Mofaz, said October 29 that the army plans to "move from a pattern of solely reacting, to one of initiative." In the five weeks to October 31, almost 150 people have been killed, all but 10 of them Palestinians.

#### Barak hangs on by his fingernails

The Israeli regime, unable to crush the resistance by Palestinian working people, has sought to pressure the Palestinian leadership to keep the population in the occupied territories in check. But the Palestinian National Authority is politically too weak to do that job effectively.

Over the past decade, the Palestine Liberation Organization has increasingly relied

Palestinian control
Joint control
West Bank

Artil West Bank

Joricho

GAZA STRIP

Bathlehem
See

Map shows dispersed areas under Palestinian National Authority jurisidiction as stipulated in Oslo accords.

on ties with capitalist regimes in the Mideast that claim to speak for Arabs, along with negotiations with Washington to try to secure the establishment of a Palestinian state.

In this situation, the Israeli rulers have maintained the initiative through a policy of stepped-up aggression. To survive in the Knesset (parliament), Barak's minority government has courted the right-wing Shas party, which opposes even the limited concessions of territory that Barak had proposed in talks with Arafat at the presidential retreat of Camp David earlier this year. At the end of October, Shas leaders said they would support Barak for the next month to give him a stabler base to crack down on the Palestinians.

Barak also continues to seek a coalition government with Likud. Sharon, who precipitated the current wave of repression and protests when he provocatively visited a sacred Islamic site in Jerusalem September 28 surrounded by an armed entourage of 1,000 cops, seeks to gain maximum concessions from Barak or

to replace him.

Washington, whose goal is to increase its own dominance throughout the Mideast, has been pressing for a resumption of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. But the perpetual collision course between the Israeli garrison state and the Palestinian people, as well as the weakness of the Palestinian National Authority, have exhausted one attempt after another to reach any lasting agreement.

## Washington deepens its 'footprint' in Yemen

#### **BY MAURICE WILLIAMS**

The October 12 explosion of the *USS Cole* anchored off the coast of Yemen placed a spotlight on Washington's widening military presence and influence in that country.

"For well over a decade, we've had a strong military presence in this region," U.S. national security adviser Samuel Berger bragged, three days after a boat packed with explosives blew a large hole in the warship. The U.S. destroyer was involved in enforcing sanctions against Iraq that have been imposed since the 1990-91 U.S.-led Gulf War.

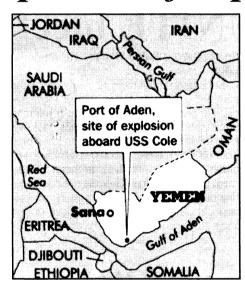
Yemen's strategic position on the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula was a primary reason for Gen. Anthony Zinni, recently retired Pentagon regional commander for the Middle East, to order refueling operations for U.S. Navy ships at Aden. The deep-water port there has served as a refueling spot for U.S. warships for nearly two years. U.S. government officials have begun floating plans to establish a "permanent" military base around Aden.

Washington's increased political and military presence in Yemen highlights progress in pursuing one of its objectives in the 1990-91 military assault on Iraq—that of establishing stable, profitable relations with capitalist regimes in the region, stretching from the Atlantic Coast of northern Africa to the Arab-Persian Gulf. Over the past decade the U.S. rulers have taken further steps to assert their position as the dominant imperialist power in the Middle East, at the expense of their imperialist rivals.

Some 3,000 U.S. troops are deployed on eight vessels in Yemeni waters. And more than 200 other U.S. military, FBI, and State Department personnel are stationed in Aden, the country's capital. The relatively few hotels in the city have been transformed into armed camps crowded with scores of Navy personnel, and plainclothes U.S. and Yemeni security forces on rooftops, in lobbies, and hallways.

"Yemenis around the country have started saying that the Aden Hotel, the headquarters for U.S. officials, has become an American military base," the *Washington Post* reported October 20. Supposedly to reduce the growing concern among the population that U.S. forces in the city are the advance guard of a foreign occupation, the U.S. Navy dispatched an amphibious ready group to serve as an offshore base, including two other ships, a helicopter carrier, communications, housing, and other facilities.

However, "if they are in the general port, some people will still think it's an American military base," said Mohammed Hatem Qadhi, managing editor of the *Yemen Times*.



"It doesn't matter if they're on the land or on the sea."

The U.S. military has already begun training Yemeni soldiers for organizing a coast guard to patrol the more than 1,000 miles of the country's shoreline. Gen. Zinni said he sent U.S. special forces to conduct training for Yemeni military personnel on "counterterrorism" tactics and using weapons. Yemeni officers are also studying at military colleges in the United States.

#### 'Antiterrorist' campaign

After the October 12 blast, which killed 17 U.S. sailors, Washington launched separate "antiterrorism" investigations by the FBI, the Defense Department, and the Navy. Seeking to justify expanding U.S. military and counterintelligence operations in Yemen, Clinton administration officials have smeared the country as a "safe haven for terrorist groups."

While Washington has secured increasing cooperation from the Yemen government in its "antiterror" campaign, Yemeni officials have restricted FBI agents in the country from questioning individuals detained as suspects or witnesses. FBI director Louis Freeh flew into Aden October 19 to press the government to allow his spy agency to take part in interrogations. This was followed by a letter sent to Yemen president Ali Abdullah Saleh from U.S. president William Clinton and a public statement issued by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright demanding the Yemen regime allow the FBI access to those who are detained.

Saleh, who had earlier insisted the explosion was an accident, shifted his stance October 16, calling it a "planned criminal act." Two days later Yemeni government officials announced they had rounded up at least

1,500 people, including most of the workforce in Aden harbor.

Immigrants from Algeria, Egypt, and elsewhere were swept up in a broad assault on democratic rights. Native-born Yemeni workers have also been targeted by FBI and local security forces. "Pockets remain hiding dressed in Yemeni clothes," Saleh claimed.

One week after announcing the crackdown, Saleh appeared on television alleging that one of the suspects in the blast was an Egyptian man and that the explosion was organized by militants who fought in Afghanistan against Soviet forces there. White House officials claimed this allegation added to their speculations that Saudi Arabian businessman Osama bin Laden—dubbed the "FBI's most wanted terrorist suspect"—was somehow involved in the attack on the U.S. warship.

On Aug. 20, 1998, the Clinton administration ordered U.S. warships deployed in the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea to fire 79 cruise missiles on Afghanistan and Sudan. It claimed the bombings were acts of "self-defense" against an "international terrorist network" allegedly organized by bin Laden. U.S. government officials claimed bin Laden was responsible for the August 7 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Meanwhile, as part of its attempts to press the Yemeni regime to bend to its imperial dictates, Washington has been pressuring Saleh to reverse his government's stance of opposition to the U.S.-led embargo against Iraq.

"I am under pressure and am criticized for my stand on Iraq," Saleh said. "Every time I receive a U.S. visitor or visit the United States, the first question I am asked is, 'Why did such and such a minister go to Baghdad? Why did this minister visit you from Baghdad?""

In August 1990, the Yemeni government led by Saleh—along with revolutionary Cuba—was alone in abstaining in a vote by the United Nations Security Council that gave Washington political cover to use force to impose economic sanctions against Iraq. Less than a month later, tens of thousands of Yemeni workers were expelled from Saudi Arabia after their work permits were revoked in retaliation for Yemen's refusal to join the imperialist-led coalition against Iraq.

Over the past decade, in face of such pressure, the regime in Yemen has increasingly sought closer relations with Washington, following the course of other governments in the Arab-speaking countries of the region.

## Philadelphia teachers reach pact after walkout

#### BY JOHN STUDER

PHILADELPHIA—After a brief walkout on October 27, public school teachers here announced a tentative agreement on a contract on Monday morning, October 30, shortly before schools were to open for the

In face of threats against them by city and state authorities, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT), with its 21,000 members, succeeded in winning support from many students and working people in this city. This was the first walkout by teachers here since 1981.

The teachers had been working for a month under a cutback contract unilaterally imposed on them by Mayor John Street. Act 46, an anti-labor state law enacted in 1998, gives city and state officials the power to impose contract terms on the city's teachers and, if they strike in response, to decertify them.

#### Picket lines go up

Union picket lines went up at city schools at the end of the school day Friday, while the union negotiating committee entered a new round of talks with the city.

The talks broke off after two hours as the city continued to press for an "education reform" contract that would increase the work day with no increase in pay, install a "pay for performance" scheme that would gut pay for job and seniority, and other cutbacks.

Stepping up his slander campaign against the teachers, Mayor Street assembled a big press conference that included most of the leadership of the city's Democratic party, government officials, and even leaders of a few construction unions

"This is the last best offer, folks," Street

told the news media.

Street called on union leaders to put the city's final offer up for a vote by the membership. "If a court order is issued," he said. "I don't know how many of these teachers are going to be jeopardizing their futures as

A few days earlier, Street met with Gov. Tom Ridge to discuss plans for a "friendly' state takeover of the schools. This would allow the city to keep control of the school district while using the state's power under Act 46 to impose whatever conditions they liked and to try to break any strike by the

Teachers expressed anger at the city and the state. "John Street is deluding himself if he thinks he can divide the membership and our leadership," said Patti Cruice, a teachers at the Houston Elementary School.

"I wanted to throw my shoe through the TV," added Judy Fink, who teaches secondgrade at Houston.

#### Students walk out to support teachers

Starting the day before the teachers' strike deadline, students began organizing walkouts from city schools, marching downtown to City Hall and demanding that the city meet the teachers' demands.

Some 700 students—half the student body—marched out of Girls High at 9:00 a.m. "The teachers couldn't do it, so we did it for them," said Diane O'Neill, a junior at the North Philadelphia school. Waving signs and yelling into a megaphone, they marched around the grounds for more than 30 min-

"Support the PFT! Mayor Street cares more about the stadium than the future of Philadelphia's students," read the sign carried by Sophomore Juliana Garcia. The mayor has said he will spend up to \$1 billion to fund a new baseball stadium while refusing to meet the teachers' demands.

About 40 students jumped on the subway to City Hall. "We wanted to see Mayor Street," junior Jill Collins said. "He didn't come out."

The students then marched to the board of education office, linking arms and singing "We Are the World." They were turned away." They treated us like we were going to start trouble," sophomore Maura Ogden

The next day, with the strike scheduled to begin at 3:00 p.m., students marched out of a number of city schools during the day. Students at South Philadelphia High walked

out at 12:30. They decorated the school's staircase with graffiti saying, "South Philly walked out 10/27.

Several hundred rallied at City Hall, including contingents from Benjamin Franklin High, Central High and the High School for the Creative and Performing Arts. Students from William Penn High climbed the stairs to the hallway outside Street's office.

More than two-thirds of the people interviewed in a poll on television news said they supported the teachers against the attack of the city and the state.

Both sides refused to comment on details of the tentative deal. The union has scheduled a mass meeting for November 2 at Temple University for the membership to discuss and vote on the proposed contract.

## Metalworkers in Brazil march for jobs, wages



Brazilian metalworkers marched from Sao Paulo to the capital, Brasilia, in late October to demand the government take steps to create jobs and to demand a wage increase. Unemployment in Sao Paulo, Brazil's industrial center, is 17 percent, and in other metropolitan regions it has soared to the highest levels since the mid-1980s. The buying power of workers' wages has fallen by 7 percent with the devaluation of the national currency, the real.

## Socialists in UNITE meet

#### **Continued from Page 10**

overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship in Cuba in 1959. Both are members of the Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution, which works to educate young people in Cuba about their revolutionary heritage and recruit them to the ongoing struggle to build socialism. Alvarez and de Llano were joined on the platform by Joel Britton, a UFCW packinghouse worker and leader of the Socialist Workers Party. He spoke about the impact of the opening years of the Cuban revolution on winning young people like himself in the 1960s to the fight to overthrow capitalism in the United States and revolutionary Cuba's continuing example for growing numbers of workers and farmers today.

#### Advances in fraction-building

The meeting registered important steps forward in building a fraction in garment and textile since the last national meeting in July. Under a report by Lisa Potash, participants discussed several lessons in gaining competence and holding jobs as sew-

"A combined effort of targeted sales of our press, training on sewing skills to give us the confidence to hold jobs in the garment district, and a systematic effort to find those jobs, has earned us a much better understanding of where we want to be," said Jason Alessio, a sewing machine operator from the New York garment district. "We now know about several union-organized shops in the district," he said. Socialist workers have also turned to the union for information on hiring in UNITE shops and to

#### - MILITANT **LABOR** FORUMS—

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#### **Garment District**

Equal Rights for All Immigrants! A panel discussion. Sat., Nov. 11, 7:30 p.m. 545 8th Ave. 14th floor (between 37 & 38 Sts.). Donation: \$4. Tel: 212-695-7358

#### Upper Manhattan

12

Defend Bilingual Education. Speaker: Bill Estrada, Socialist Workers Party and member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union. Fri., Nov. 10, 7:30 p.m. 540 W. 165 St. (Corner of 165 St. and St. Nicholas). Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

find out about events like the Farmingville

Socialists hailed from 12 cities across the country. In nine factories, two or more socialists are working together in a plant to more effectively carry out political activity. Every fraction member is working in a production job, the big majority as sewing machine operators, which is the heart of garment production. This puts the national fraction on a sound footing to deepen its involvement in the resistance taking place on the shop floor where they work, in other garment and textile plants, and in other unions.

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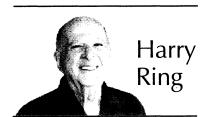
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#### **GREAT SOCIETY** -

Simple, they made a revolution—The United Kingdom's National Health Service sent a team of health officials and 100 doctors to study Cuba's health-care pro-



gram. Officials said they want to find out how Cuba achieves "similar" health care results at 1 percent of the UK's per capita cost.

P.S.—The UK already has one clue: They have one doctor for every 2,000 patients. The Cubans have one for every 500.

'Similar'?—"Doctors say they have to beg charities for essential equipment to keep sick or newborn babies alive.... Pediatricians complain they are also having to ask charities for everyday items of equipment," reports London's Daily Mail. Cuba, target of a U.S. organized blockade, does have medical and other shortages. But their health care has won international praise—and Cuba's doctors don't beg for charity.

Plus those driving while Black?—The Vermont legislature authorized la migra and other U.S. border cops to grab and hold "suspected" drunken drivers or those with other asserted traffic violations and turn them over to state cops.

Wire, mire, not to hurry—An aviation committee is "months away" from bringing in recommendations for dealing with wiring problems in old planes. The industry/government committee was established more than two years ago. And if the feds approve its proposals it could take more months, or even years, before they're applied.

Incorrigible cynics—A keen USA Today report on the slated merger of oil giants Chevron and Texaco was headlined: "Oil merger not likely to lower gasoline prices."

'Just saving soles, your honor'—In the township of Mexico, New York, a federal judge was slated to decide if bricks carrying messages about Jesus can be part of a public school's walkway. Money for the bricks was donated as a fund-raiser, but it drew the anger of residents. The school board went to court to get the bricks back.

asks firms for funds for 20 police"— Headline, the *Times*, London.

How about Rasputin?—After years of debate, the Russian Orthodox Church conferred sainthood on czar Nicholas II, whose bloody reign was ended by workers and farmers in the 1917 Russian Revolution.

Virtual diversity—To suggest a diverse student body, the University of Wisconsin at Madison inserted a photo of a Black student in an otherwise white football crowd shot. Less reversed itself and then a minister than 10 percent of the student body is nonwhite and 2.1 percent are Black. School officials saw the doc-Not only the doctors—"Force tored photo as "an error of judgment."

## Israel is enemy of Palestinian, Jewish toilers

Printed below are excerpts from Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation, by Fred Feldman and Georges Sayad. Copyright © 1989 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the Militant.

#### BY FRED FELDMAN

The capitalist regime in Israel, which represents a tiny wealthy minority, stands opposed to the interests not only of the Palestinian people, but of all the workers and farmers of Israeli-ruled Palestine. All workers under Israeli rule are exploited and oppressed by the capitalist class. All are victimized by restrictions on democratic rights, massive military spending, and attempts to make workers and working farmers pay for the wrenching inflation and deflation cycles of Israel's unstable capitalist economy.

The Israeli rulers repress and discriminate against Palestinian workers and farmers, and use non-Palestinian working people as cannon fodder in their wars of expansion against neighboring countries and their civil war against the Palestinians. Among Israel's Jews, those dark-skinned people whose families came to Israel from other Middle Eastern or North African countries face discrimination and make up a disproportionate share of the country's wage workers.

The key to progress for the Palestinian people and for all the working people of the country is a revolutionary struggle to overthrow Israel's capitalist regime, which represents the interests of a small, superwealthy minority. This fact will become apparent to many more workers and farmers as the political and economic problems of Israeli and world capitalism deepen.

The October 1987 stock market crash, the unpayable debts crushing semicolonial countries, the soaring indebtedness of corporations, and the mounting difficulties of imperialist financial institutions, from big banks to insurance companies, are all symptoms of the approach of a devastating social and economic crisis, including a world capitalist depression. As this crisis develops, there will be social and political upheavals in the imperialist countries, as well as in the semicolonial countries—already devastated by an economic crisis—of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The efforts of the capitalists on one side and the workers and farmers on the other to protect their interests in the crisis—to find a way out—will lead to the sort of huge class confrontations not seen for decades in the imperialist countries. Israel's capitalist economy, already shaken and dependent on billions of dollars from the United States each year, will be extremely vulnerable to

The potential that exists for explosive and revolutionary social struggles in Israel in the future has been signaled by the growth of conflicts and polarization in that country over the last two decades. The 1982 invasion of Lebanon had far less popular support than the 1967 conquests and inspired some massive protests. Israel's capitalist parties have had increasing difficulty in forming a stable government. Tactical divisions in the ruling class over how to respond to the Palestinian revolt and other issues are growing sharper.

The coming social and economic crisis will impel workers in Israel to attempt to forge their own independent organizations to fight for their interests. Today the main union federation in Israel, the Histadrut, is actually one of the country's biggest businesses, and the so-called Labor Party is controlled top to bottom by big business. To fight back in the coming crisis, Israeli workers will have to join forces with Palestinians, who have been leading the way in forging unions and other independent organizations to combat the Israeli regime.

Israeli working farmers are already being strangled by growing debts to the government and bankers. Moves to reduce their living standards and take away their land will drive them to fight. To be successful they will have to battle alongside the Palestinian farmers, who have decades of experience fighting confiscation and debt slavery.

#### Fight for basic democratic rights

Israeli workers and farmers will be forced to fight for the most basic democratic rights. As class polarization and clashes intensify, the Israeli rulers will take steps toward extending the regime of "force, might, and beatings" that they have been trying to impose in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Palestinian workers and farmers, who are waging a battle against this repression today, will be in the forefront of resistance to these moves.

The struggle for basic democratic rights is bringing Palestinians into an intensifying confrontation with the Israeli government. Concessions to these demands would threaten both the superprofits capitalists gain from exploiting Palestinian workers and the rulers' grip on the land and resources that were stolen from the Palestinian people. The Israeli rulers may yield ground on some of these demands to the massive Palestinian mobilizations, but they will never stop trying to roll back any gains the Palestinians

The Palestinian struggle to end military rule and secure political rights, land, selfdetermination, and other basic democratic demands points toward a struggle to topple the Israeli regime. To put an end to the bloody wars waged by the Israeli rulers and to defend themselves from the devastation that the developing capitalist economic crisis will threaten them with, the workers and farmers need to overturn this capitalist regime.

The key to victory for the workers and farmers in the coming battles against the rule of the Israeli capitalists and their government is unity. The perspective of forging a democratic, secular Palestine—where Christians, Jews, Muslims, and others will live together in freedom and equality-will aid vanguard fighters among the workers and farmers in their efforts to unite the exploited and oppressed in the battle to oust the Israeli capitalist regime....

First and foremost, a democratic, secular state means ending the oppression and discrimination against the Palestinians. It means recognizing the right of the Palestinians forced to live abroad to return and reclaim their rights as citizens. It means putting an end to the discriminatory "law of return." This law allows anyone whose mother is Jewish or who is recognized as a bona fide convert to Judaism to settle in Israel with the rights of a citizen. But millions of Palestinians, who were born there in many cases and whose families had lived there for many generations, are barred from

Radical land reform is imperative to enable returning Palestinians whose families were stripped of their land to resume farming if they wish, and to provide sufficient land to those in the West Bank and Gaza who have been victimized by the regime's policies of confiscation and economic dis-



Palestinian workers from the West Bank leave for daily work in Israel

A secular state is one that promulgates no particular religious belief and gives no special privileges to any religious body. Establishing such a state means abolishing the privileged position held by the Jewish religion and religious hierarchy in Israel today. Instead, unfettered freedom of religious belief or nonbelief must be won for Jews, Christians, Muslims, and others.

In the coming battles, the Palestinian people fighting for their national rights will be joined by hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers fighting to overturn the rule of the Israeli capitalist class. The increase in the percentage of Palestinians who are workers has greatly reinforced the social weight of the exploited classes among the Palestinian people, and in Israel as a whole. This places workers and farmers in a stronger position to lead the revolution that will put an end to oppression by the Israeli regime.

Every step in this direction places working people in a better position to advance to the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government in Palestine. The revolution will open the road to putting an end to capitalist oppression and exploitation in Palestine, as part of the worldwide battle of workers and farmers to forge a communist future.

### *25 AND 50 YEARS AGO*

#### November 14, 1975

NATIONAL CITY, Calif.—More than 1,000 people marched here October 28 chanting, "Justice for Luis Rivera."

Rivera, a twenty-year-old Puerto Rican, was gunned down by an unidentified cop two weeks earlier. According to witnesses, the cop was investigating a purse-snatching incident. He spotted Rivera, shouted "Freeze," and three to five seconds later shot him in the back.

When two people who saw the suspect were asked to identify Rivera's body, they told police, "That's not him; he was taller and thinner.'

Rivera's father has filed a \$4.5 million "wrongful death" lawsuit against the city.

Since the killing, the Chicano community has organized mass meetings, news conferences, and a petition drive demanding the identification and suspension of the cop; the firing of the police chief; and investigations by an independent citizens' commission, the grand jury, and the federal government.

The unidentified cop is on a paid leave. "The policy of the National City City Council is that if you're a cop and you want a vacation, just go shoot a Mexican," Herman Baca, chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, told a mass meeting prior to the march.

The spirited demonstration included friends, relatives, and neighbors of Rivera,

families with young children, and older people who had never marched before.

#### November 13, 1950

BUFFALO—The huge Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Company was shut tight here this week by 17,000 workers in an unprecedented labor demonstration for Vincent Copeland, Lackawanna Steel union leader who was discharged by the company on a trumped-up charge of "instigating a wildcat walkout" of the blast furnace department where he is the chief grievance man. The demonstration showed the determination of the Lackawanna steel workers to reinstate Vince Copeland, who is widely known as an outstanding militant.

The company knew that a walkout would follow if they tried to discharge Copeland. It therefore issued instructions to bank the furnaces long before any of the workers knew that Copeland was about to be fired.

The first so-called "wildcat" walkout, which took place last week, was provoked by the company when it deliberately attempted to violate the seniority provisions of the contract, by announcing that it would hire men for its new sintering plant "from the outside" instead of from among the regular employees in accordance with their seniority status. The walkout lasted two days, and when the men returned to work, the company gave in on the grievance.

## Workers in Yugoslavia press for their rights

Continued from page 9

members who hold a variety of political viewpoints. The organization includes Socialist Party members and some supporters or former members of Vojislav Seselj's Serbian Radical Party—which many people in Belgrade describe

The leadership of the Students Union of Yugoslavia, another major youth group, has increasingly moved in a social democratic direction. One of its main activities is maintaining a web site called "Free Serbia," an operation that now has its own offices in Belgrade and several dozen employees and volunteers whose efforts are funded from "donors from abroad, mainly in the European Union and North America," as one of its leaders put it.

Since Milosevic's downfall, the Nezavisnost union leadership has also made more explicit a similar social democratic orientation. One of its main pieces of literature states that Nezavisnost seeks "the establishment of the rule of law; genuine multiparty parliamentary democracy; comprehensive and radical economic reforms based on privatization, economic efficiency and social justice; [and] integration of Yugoslavia into the international community." Leaders of this union who in interviews with the Militant during the NATO assault made remarks supporting self-determination for Albanians in Kosova have since retracted or distanced themselves from those positions.

#### 'We've given them a deadline'

Given the lack of politically organized working-class leadership, working people pressing for their rights face continuous obstacles and efforts to push them back. Workers at the Ikarbus bus manufacturing plant in Zemun, on the outskirts of Belgrade, told the Militant how a majority of workers in the factory had successfully fought to organize into Nezavisnost and that the company had been forced to recognize the union by October 25.

At the entrance of the plant, two notices were posted next to each other. One was signed by Zoran Gojkovic, president of Samostalni (Autonomy), the formerly pro-Milosevic trade union. That notice reported that 304 of the 1,022 workers had left that union, announced Gojkovic's resignation, and called a meeting to elect new officers open only to current members. Next to this was a notice by the in-plant Nezavisnost organizing committee, calling a meeting to discuss the situation in the plant and workers' demands for better wages and working conditions. This meeting was open to all workers in the plant, regardless of union affiliation.

Inside the factory, the company manager acknowledged the formation of a new union, which he claimed not to oppose. He also said he would collaborate with whatever union had majority support, and then declared, "But this hasn't been determined by the courts yet." So the fight to establish the union continues.

Despite these hurdles, working people in Yugoslavia have gained greater self-confidence and are using the new atmosphere of political freedom since October 5 to press their demands.

At Kolubara, a region 60 miles south of Belgrade where most of Serbia's coal for generation of

electrical energy is mined at four surface pits, miners told the Militant they had not yet disbanded the strike committee set up when they walked out September 29. That nine-day political strike by 7,500 miners and the solidarity movement built around it were central to toppling the bureaucratic regime.

Since the fall of Milosevic, the miners have demanded better wages and working conditions, after having gone three years without a contract. They pressed successfully for the resignation of the mine management and all the officials of the energy ministry who tried to use the police to break their strike. They are now trying to maintain their pressure on the Kostunica regime to meet the rest of their

"I hope this new government will be better," said miner Jubisalav Perisic, during an interview at the entrance of the Field D mine October 27. "But we've given them a deadline—a few months. We will not wait for five, eight, or 10 years as we waited for Milosevic, to get a living wage and decent working conditions."

His comment captured the determination of the miners to press their demands and to seek greater control over their conditions on the job.

#### EU road of capitalist penetration

Their comments also indicated that foreign investors and the new government will not have an easy time convincing them to accept the privatization of the mines.

Given the continuing depth of popular opposition to



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

University of Belgrade students Damir Eres (left) and Milos Milenkovic, leaders of Otpor (Resistance), at the offices of their organization in central Belgrade on October 23. Otpor, made up in its majority of students, is one of the most prominent groups that campaigned for the ouster of the Milosevic regime.

the U.S.-led assault on Yugoslavia, Kostunica and those who share the political program of the DOS have sought to distance themselves somewhat from Washington, and are trying to convince working people that the road to solving the acute economic and social problems is through rapid integration into the European Union. Large placards with the multistar symbol of the EU and the slogan "Together Again!"—referring to the European Union and Yugoslavia—could be seen everywhere Militant reporters traveled.

In an October 29 statement, Kostunica rejected the call by U.S. president William Clinton to accept results of local elections in Kosova, organized under NATO occupation, as legitimate. Kostunica has maintained much of the nationalist stance of Milosevic toward Kosova, and his support for the chauvinist leaders of the so-called Bosnian Serb republic in Bosnia.

The European Union is being utilized increasingly by the imperialist powers in their goal of capitalist penetration of the workers states in Eastern and Central Europe-

The French government of President Jacques Chirac and EU officials announced October 27 the imminent signing of an agreement with Moscow to purchase large amounts of oil, natural gas, and electricity from Russia in exchange for investments by capitalist concerns in the corresponding Russian industries.

This announcement coincided with Kostunica's visit to Moscow, during which Russian president Vladimir Putin said that country's natural gas company will soon restart gas deliveries to Yugoslavia. The supply had been cut during Milosevic's reign after Belgrade failed to pay a \$300

The October 24 Washington Post quoted an unnamed ambassador from an EU country as saying, "Once you allow NATO members to pick and choose their operations, then where does it all end? The integrated military com-

European imperialist powers now account for 80 percent of the 65,000 NATO troops deployed in the Balkans. But these powers are reluctant to see the U.S. government cut back its 11,400 troops there, which literally represent a military machine more powerful and swift-acting than the forces of all the other powers put together.

Argiris Malapanis is a meat packer in Miami. Bobbis Misailidis is an airport worker in Athens, Greece. Catharina Tirsén, a member of the Metalworkers union in Stockholm, Sweden, and George Skoric, a student in Belgrade, contributed to this article.

including Yugoslavia—and the former Soviet Union.

"The most critical problem we face right now is how to survive the next few weeks," said Mladin Dinkic, one of Kostunica's economic advisers who accompanied him to Moscow. "People are already blaming us for what is going on." Yugoslavia faces its most serious energy crisis ever, these officials said.

At the same time, the military deployment of U.S. troops in the Balkans—surrounding the current Yugoslavia, from Macedonia to Kosova and Bosnia—remains the foundation on which Washington has strengthened its military and economic domination in Europe since the early 1990s. U.S. imperialism intends to use this strength as a club towards accomplishing its long-term goal of weakening and eventually overthrowing the workers state in Yugoslavia.

EU leaders have assailed recent statements by supporters of Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush suggesting that if elected he would curtail the U.S. government's military presence in the Balkans. The reactions came in response to statements by Condoleeza Rice, Bush's foreign policy adviser, who said Washington should focus on military operations in the Middle East and Asia and turn over "peacekeeping" missions such as the one in the Balkans to the European powers.

mand could soon fall apart, and so would the alliance."

The recent actions by working people in Yugoslavia are one more reason to make finance capital more nervous.

## -*EDITORIAL*-

## For a democratic, secular Palestine

War and repression, denial of the right to national selfdetermination, and dispossession of their land—these have been the hallmarks of the Israeli regime's treatment of the Palestinian people since the creation of the colonial-settler state in 1948. It is the Israeli state that the Palestinian people confront, and against which they have been fighting for more than 50 years in order to gain their most fundamental rights.

"Israel will not stand by and accept attacks on its citizens and soldiers," declared Ehud Barak, prime minister of the Zionist regime, just before launching a helicoptermissile attack on offices of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Two days later six Palestinians were killed by Israeli forces, bringing the total deaths to 163, nearly all

Barak's statement sums up the policy of the Israeli government: to use overwhelming military force without hesitation against real and perceived threats to the Israeli state. His words also reek with hypocrisy, since many of "its citizens" are Palestinians who have come under attack by Tel Aviv's armed forces and rightist thugs over the past weeks. Many of these Palestinians are increasingly joining the struggle against the brutal regime.

This increased offensive by the Israeli rulers requires a worldwide response by working people to stand with the Palestinian people in demanding Tel Aviv stop its repression and get out of the occupied territories.

Even though another cease-fire has been announced under the Israeli threat of punishing "retaliatory steps" against the Palestinians—there will be no peace. There will continue to be a struggle as long as the Palestinian people are denied their right to national self-determination—a goal that is irreconcilable with the interests of Israel's capitalist ruling class. Efforts by Israel and Washington to "settle" the conflict without meeting these just demands will only lead to war after war, crisis after crisis.

Israel has granted nominal control to the Palestinians of only 20 percent of the West Bank—in polka-dot marks that simply become the targets for Israeli attacks-and 60 percent of the Gaza Strip. The fight for Palestinian national liberation and self-determination means the fight for a state, one that will guarantee that right. A successful struggle to get the Israeli forces to withdraw completely

from the occupied territories would be a big step forward toward that goal. It would be a political blow to the Zionist regime and would give the Palestinian people a geographic area in which to organize and extend their fight.

Class-conscious workers worldwide need to get out the facts about the Palestinian struggle, explain its historical roots, and place it in the broader struggle of the Arab peoples for liberation from imperialist domination. This can help build a worldwide movement to join forces with our Palestinian brothers and sisters to demand Tel Aviv pull its troops and settlers out of the West Bank, Gaza, and Jerusalem. This will also be a step in a longer-term fight for a democratic, secular Palestine. Such a perspective undercuts the fundamental precept of Zionist rule that Arab and Jewish people cannot live together in solidarity and cooperation.

The Palestinian people have won broad support for their struggle among workers and farmers throughout the Mideast. This backing continually upsets Washington's goal of establishing closer relations with Arab regimes, who also seek closer collaboration with imperialists.

The Arab peoples, like workers and oppressed peoples in most of the world, face a crisis of leadership. There is a gap between their fighting capacities, selfless contributions to the struggle, and ability to stand up to what appears to be overwhelming odds. But there has been a historical exhaustion of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships in the region, who fear working people in their own countries more than they do U.S. imperialism. They will not lead the kind of mobilizations, build the kind of political organizations, and advance the political consciousness needed in the fight for national liberation, because it entails waging a battle against imperialist rule, one that poses the need for a revolution to overturn capitalism.

The Palestinian people face the need to forge a working-class leadership of their national liberation struggle and to build a communist leadership of workers and farmers. Such a struggle will also find a connection with workers and farmers in Israel, who confront a common enemy—the Israeli capitalist ruling class. This battle will be able to pose the necessity to fight for a democratic, secular Palestine.

#### **CORRECTION**

The excerpt from the book The Truth about Yugoslavia reprinted in last week's Militant should have indicated that the authors of the article excerpted, "The roots of the conflict in Yugoslavia," are George Fyson and Jonathan Silberman.

## Pathfinder reprint volunteers expand role

#### **BY JERRY GARDNER** AND RUTH CHENEY

OAKLAND, California-Beginning in November, Pathfinder Reprint Project volunteers around the world will begin taking on much greater responsibility for the production of Pathfinder books and pamphlets. This includes expanded work on new editions of previously printed titles as well as work on the new books that will be published by Pathfinder.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Leagues around the world participate in this ambitious effort, which was launched in early 1998. The Reprint Project is now an effort of more than 200 supporters in numerous countries who are preparing these books in electronic form.

The volunteers scan, proofread, format, and index the books on their computers, transforming the books into digital files. They also make digital covers and photo signatures and then burn a compact diskwhich will now be print-ready when it is sent to Pathfinder's printshop. In 1998, the shop purchased new computer-to-plate equipment that allows a digital file to be sent to the shop over the Internet or on a CD that can be prepared to go on a printing press in a matter of minutes, thus replacing outdated printing methods that required the use of labor intensive equipment.

In October, a series of three meetings were held in the San Francisco Bay area to discuss these next steps. Peggy Brundy, Ruth Cheney, Jerry Gardner, and Tom Tomasko, the four members of the steering committee of the Reprint Project attended, as did Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press, and Norton Sandler, a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party who has been assigned to work with the steering committee.

#### Quality work by volunteers

In explaining the proposed changes, Waters explained that three of the four Pathfinder editorial staff members currently spend the majority of their time each week checking formatted text, graphic files, and the final CD sent in by volunteers. Waters noted that the time spent on this is growing in response to the pickup in the pace of the work being submitted by the project volunteers.

At the beginning of August the volunteers took on a goal of producing 30 finished titles by year's end. They have completed 19 as of October 31. Waters said the work of the volunteers is resulting in quality work that would have been unimaginable when the

Over the course of the meetings, participants came to agreement with the proposal that they take on major increased responsibility for the production of Pathfinder books and that all unnecessary duplication of effort should be rapidly eliminated. Much of the work currently done by the Pathfinder staff is already or can easily be carried out by the volunteers themselves.

When the various checks that will be part of the volunteers' new procedures are completed, a final compact disc with an entire book on it will be sent to Pathfinder, ready to go on the presses. Previously, the Pathfinder staff looked over the entire CD before sending them to the Pathfinder printshop. These CDs will be of such quality that they can be easily produced by a quality digital printshop anywhere in the world, greatly enhancing Pathfinder's ability to produce its revolutionary arsenal.

Volunteers will also begin to do the for-



Jerry Gardner, left, reports on Reprint Project at August 26 supporters meeting.

matting and proofreading of new titles, beginning with the booklet Pathfinder nació con la revolucion de Octubre, the Spanishlanguage version of Pathfinder was born with the October Revolution. These changes, which will eliminate hours of work each week, will free up the editorial staff to focus its time on editorial priorities and the promotion and sales of Pathfinder titles.

To take on and achieve these additional

tasks, and to increase the quality of its work while maintaining and increasing production levels, the Reprint Project leadership will review its overall production plan. With Pathfinder no longer carefully checking titles, new checks by volunteers will be put in place. Increased attention will also be paid to the checks currently done.

Volunteers who have been developing skills needed by the project will be called on to take on additional new responsibilities.

There is every reason to expect that this will happen. Before the October meetings, a call had gone out to the many volunteers who work on indexing books to see who was interested in learning formatting or graphics skills

Shifting additional volunteers to these production areas is necessary to get production up to 10 CDs per month—the long-term goal of the Reprint Project. Volunteers have already made more than 130 titles digital, but more than 80 Pathfinder titles remain out of print.

As a result of this call, 12 indexers have stepped forward. It can be expected that additional volunteers will rapidly come forward to fill the new tasks while we redouble our efforts to successfully complete our existing assignments.

## 'Secrecy' act: more cover for gov't spying

Continued from front page

tions by civil liberties and media groups, and has even opened a debate about it within ruling-class circles.

In an October 27 editorial entitled "A Pernicious Secrecy Bill," the editors of the New York Times warned that the bill "would freeze public discussion of government policies and actions that require open debate."

'Properly classified' information... includes hundreds of thousands of documents that should never have been classified in the first place," the editorial states. "The standard could be interpreted as covering information that is not stamped classified but is effectively the same as information classified elsewhere in the government. Officials could be prosecuted for releasing material even if they had good reason to believe it was public information."

The executive branch has unilateral au-

thority to define what information should be classified.

The government currently classifies about 8 million documents each year. This includes nearly all cables from U.S. embassies, even when they contain just summaries of the local newspapers.

According to Lucy Dalgish, executive director of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, this new regulation will lead to many more subpoenas to journalists demanding they identify their sources.

The Reporters Committee and eight other media organizations, including the American Society of Newspaper Editors and National Newspaper Association sent a letter to Congress in July opposing this bill, warning it will lead to "over-classification of in-

At the end of October two leading members of the House Judiciary Committee liberal Democrat John Conyers and conservative Republican Henry Hyde—called for hearings on this bill by their committee, and asked that the effective date of the measure be delayed for one year.

Some defenders of the bill state that they "would have preferred" that the bill have a less sweeping scope but that they support it anyway as in the interests of "national security" and argue that it can be "fixed"

Liberal opponents of the bill do not challenge the measure's premise that the U.S. government has the prerogative to spy on individuals and organizations and to hide its actions under the cover of "legitimate secrets," as the *Times* editors put it. They are mostly concerned about giving Washington and its spy agencies the appearance of an "open, democratic society" as they pursue their attacks on working people.

Clinton has until November 4 to act on the bill.

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Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

#### **LETTERS**

#### **School vouchers**

Thank you for the informative article titled "Capitalist politicians push school vouchers," printed in your October 30 issue. As a public school teacher in the Seattle area, this topic is of considerable interest to me. Vouchers and charter schools are under discussion here as well. Both of these pose a threat to students' ability to receive a quality education, and to the integrity of teachers' unions, too.

We teachers are already under considerable pressure to work outside our contract hours. Parents and administrators alike push us to tutor students during our 30-minute lunch

period, turn up frequently for evening events at school, and attend extra unpaid workshops after school geared toward educational reform.

My colleagues and I were once warned that if we failed to do these things, our school's test scores would fail to rise, the state would privatize our school, and our wages might be cut by up to 66 percent. We are pressured not to take the sick days to which we are contractually entitled, because there are not enough substitute teachers available. (Substitute teachers are paid about \$10 an hour and given no benefits, and many of them carry a heavy debt burden due to student loan payments. Many leave the field after a short time.)

There are good reasons why many parents are interested in the charter school/voucher system. Many charter schools are smaller in size, and the atmosphere is more intimate. Students often feel safer, rules are less restrictive, students' civil liberties are trodden on less frequently, and there are unlikely to be cops on campus. This is due to teachers and other staff members' personal acquaintance with each student on campus. What student wouldn't want to attend such a school? What parent wouldn't want that for their child?

However, the voucher/charter system doesn't provide this for all students; instead, it polarizes the quality of education being offered in an available area. Those students with parents who can drive them across town at the appropriate time can go to charter schools. Those who must rely on the school bus go to the larger, less personal schools (which are cheaper to run). In the end, a few get an excellent education at the expense of the majority.

In the end, vouchers and charter schools do not provide a fair alternative for all students' education, nor do they protect the rights of the workers who educate those students.

A fair system would offer smaller, more intimate, better-funded schools across the board for all students, and would respect the union rights of teachers and classified (supporting) staff members. This is what working people should demand. Sue Kawakubo Seattle, Washington

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people.

Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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## THE MILITANT

## Canada 'antiterror' drive targets rights

BY STEVE PENNER

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—The Canadian government is using its arrest of two men here charged in relation to the 1985 bombing of an Air India plane to launch a renewed campaign against "Sikh terrorism."

Ajaib Singh Bagri, 51, a woodworker in Kamloops, British Columbia, and Ripudamin Singh Malik, 53, a wealthy businessman in Vancouver, were arrested October 27. Both are prominent Sikh religious leaders. Malik is also the head of the 16,000-member Khalsa Credit Union, founder of two Khalsa schools (Sikh religious schools) and president of two charitable societies.

A third man, Hardial Singh Johal, was arrested October 29, but later released without any explanation. He is the former president of the Ross Street Sikh temple in Vancouver. He was described in the Vancouver Sun as "a prominent and outspoken Sikh separatist leader." The charges against the two arrested men are murder, conspiracy to cause murder, and conspiracy to cause a bomb to be placed on an aircraft.

The Air India plane exploded off the coast of northern Ireland, leaving 329 people dead. Most were immigrants from India resident in Canada en route to visit their country of origin.

While not a shred of evidence has been produced against those arrested, the capitalist media has been working overtime to convince working people that they are guilty of "mass murder" and "the world's biggest act of aviation terrorism." Bagri was also charged with a 1988 attack on Sikh newspaper publisher Tara Singh Hayer.

Articles on the two of the accused men in the Vancouver *Sun* and the *National Post* were headlined "Ajaib Singh Bari: A disciple of alleged mastermind of bombing" and "Ripudamin Singh Malik: A key player in Sikh separatism."

A headline in the Vancouver *Province* declared that the "two charged...are fervent in their beliefs." The article highlighted the fact that Bagri has devoted his time in recent months to building a new Sikh temple in Kamloops and that Malik holds prayer sessions in his home and contributes 15 percent of his income to Sikh institutions. Press reports also emphasize that Malik has financed "militant Sikh separatist" groups fighting against the Indian government.

Canadian officials said the arrests came after a 15-year police "investigation" by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS). According to the press the

"evidence" that will be presented in court is based largely on wiretaps, police informers, and reports from India's political police.

Over the years the Indian government has waged brutal attacks on Sikhs in the state of Punjab, relying on anti-Sikh chauvinism to perpetuate divisions among working people along religious and national lines. Hundreds have been killed, and thousands tortured by the Indian police and army in the name of combating political forces advocating a separate Sikh state in Punjab.

One of those murdered by Indian police in 1992 was Talwinder Singh Parmar, sup-

posedly the chief suspect in the Air India bombing. Charges laid against him for possession of explosives were dropped for lack of evidence. Other charges had to be dropped because the police had obtained the "evidence" illegally.

Charges against five Sikhs in Montreal for allegedly plotting to blow up another Air India plane were overturned or dropped because of lack of evidence.

In 1987, CSIS confirmed that tapes of wiretaps of suspects in the Air India crash had been erased. The tapes had been sought by the RCMP, a political police agency that is sometimes at odds with CSIS.

In 1991, Inderjit Singh Reyat was sentenced to 10 years for manslaughter, on charges of fabricating the explosive device that killed two baggage handlers at Narita airport in Tokyo. Police claim that explosion was linked to the Air India explosion, which took place shortly afterward. Reyat's lawyer, Kuldip Chaggar, charged in 1997 that his client was denied bail to pressure him to testify in the Air India

bombing. He still has not been released from prison.

RCMP officials have said they are stepping up their spying on Sikh "suspects." As a result of their 15-year witch-hunt, thousands of Sikhs have been spied on, wire-tapped, and interrogated by the police. Sikhs as a group have been tarred with the brush of "Sikh terrorism," similar to the way the government and big-business media have smeared Arabs and Muslims as "terrorists."

In 1998, in the context of this anti-Sikh campaign, Nirmal Singh Gill, a Sikh caretaker at a temple in Surrey, near Vancouver,

was beaten to death by five members of a group of racist skinheads. In response, 1,000 people marched in Surrey to protest the anti-immigrant attack.

Working people who are Sikh have become increasingly integrated into the workforce in British Columbia. Thousands have been involved in strikes by woodworkers, meat packers, poultry workers, hotel employees, and Vancouver city workers.

Steve Penner is a meat packer at Britco Export Packers in Langley, British Columbia.



Striking meat packers at Superior Poultry in British Columbia rally August 22. Workers who are Asian, including Sikhs, have been involved in this and other labor battles. Canadian government's campaign against 'Sikh terrorism' will be used to target working-class fighters.

## Four cops indicted for killing in Toronto

BY JOHN STEELE

TORONTO—Four cops were indicted here October 25 for manslaughter in the death of Otto Vass, 55, who was beaten to death August 9 outside a 7-eleven corner store in this city's west end.

Amir Hameed, an immigrant from Pakistan, witnessed the killing. In the early hours of that morning two cops were called in response to an argument in the store between Vass and another customer. They escorted

Vass out of the store, which was across from where he lived. One of the cops shoved him to the ground. They punched him and beat him with their batons. Two other cops arrived and pinned Vass to the ground while the others continued the beating. Paramedics who arrived were unable to revive him.

"He was screaming in pain," said Hameed. "He never hit an officer—they never gave him a chance, and he never tried to. They were beating him worse than an animal."

The Special Investigations Unit (SIU), a civilian provincial government body that investigates situations where police actions result in injury or death, carried out a three-month investigation behind closed doors. The results of the autopsy were never made public. This is only the second time in the 10-year history of the SIU that a cop has been charged. In the earlier case, the cop was acquitted of manslaughter charges.

#### Protests over killing

Pressure to charge the cops was generated by a series of protests organized by friends of the Vass family and opponents of police brutality, who formed the Justice for Otto Vass committee. An August 16 demonstration in front of police headquarters was supported by the Committee to Stop Targeted Policing, Ontario Coalition Against Poverty, Canadian Auto Workers union, and Black Action Defense Committee (BADC).

About 100 people attended a public forum October 11 that was organized by the committee. A central demand of the campaign for justice has been that the cops who killed Vass be charged with murder.

At the forum, Maria Judas, a friend of the Vass family who attended his funeral, explained that because of the cop beating she could hardly recognize his face as he lay in the casket. Dudley Laws, a leader of BADC, reviewed the number of victims of police brutality over the past 15 years. "Despite the protests, not one policeman has gone to jail," said Laws. "But we have to keep going into the streets."

Uniformed and nonuniformed cops packed the courtroom when the four who beat Vass were brought to court. Vass's widow, Zsuzsanna Vass, and her lawyer also attended. "I want justice done," she told the press.

#### Cop mobilization at court hearing

Behind the Queen Street courthouse, armed on-duty officers linked arms and formed a human wall around the van with tinted windows in which the four cops were being transported to the court, preventing the media from approaching them. Some of the cops taunted and insulted reporters. Craig Bromell, head of the 7,000-member Toronto Police Association, spoke in defense of the four indicted cops.

Metro police chief Julian Fantino released a statement saying that the cops have been reassigned to desk duties until the case is resolved.

Ontario premier Michael Harris said he hoped the charges hadn't shaken public confidence in the police.

The Vass family's lawyer, Julian Falconer, said the four officers' release conditions were lighter than any conditions his civilian clients accused of manslaughter have ever received. The four were released and ordered not to perform duties of a "peace officer" or possess weapons. He called on the provincial attorney general's office to give the Crown attorneys the resources necessary for a fair trial against the "veritable dream team on the defense side."

The four charged cops are scheduled to return to court November 23.

The indictment of the cops takes place in the midst of the Toronto municipal election campaign, which ends November 13.At his election launch rally in September, incumbent mayor Melvin Lastman boasted that he had hired more cops than any previous mayor.

John Steele is a meat packer and member of the United Food and Commercial Work-

## 'Oppose witch-hunt against Sikhs'

The following is a statement issued October 29 by Derrick O'Keefe, Communist League candidate for Parliament in Vancouver South.

Working people and all supporters of democratic rights should oppose the campaign against "Sikh terrorism" being whipped up by Canada's rulers around the arrest of two Sikh men allegedly responsible for the bombing of an Air India plane in 1985. They should be released now.

While not a shred of evidence has been produced against them, the rulers want us to accept the claim that they're guilty unless they can "prove their innocence." The prosecution will use the vague "conspiracy" charges to try to convict individuals simply on the basis of conversations they supposedly had, not actions.

Canada's capitalist rulers' campaign against "terrorism" has targeted not only Sikhs but Arab and Muslim immigrants. Many have been systematically spied on, "visited," and interrogated by Canada's political police agencies—the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Almost none of these immigrants have ever been charged with any criminal act. They're treated as "suspects" simply on the basis of their nationality, religion, or political

beliefs.

This chauvinist campaign is aimed at scapegoating immigrants and oppressed nationalities in order to deepen divisions in the working class. It led to the 1998 murder of Nirmal Singh Gill, a Sikh caretaker, in Surrey by five racist skinheads.

It is also seen in the arrest and deportation of Chinese immigrants whose only "crime" is to seek to live and work in Canada.

The "law and order" campaign of the bosses' parties in the federal elections is part and parcel of the efforts of the billionaire capitalist families to increase the use of police powers against working people at home. In recent weeks the police and the courts have been used against Mi'kmag fishermen in New Brunswick, striking workers at Superior Poultry in British Columbia, and meat packers at Maple Leaf's Hub plant in Moncton, New Brunswick. These assaults at home go hand in hand with the Canadian rulers' foreign policy, such as their support to the Israeli regime's repression against Palestinians fighting for their self-determination.

Stop the "antiterrorist" witch-hunt against Sikhs, Arabs, and Muslims!

Free the jailed Chinese immigrants! Stop the deportations!